

# **Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina**



**Govert Westerveld  
2016**











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**Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina**  
**(c) Govert Westerveld**

**Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca**  
**(Valle de Ricote)**  
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## **DEDICATION**

This book is dedicated to Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

## FOREWORD

Thousands of articles and books have been written about *La Celestina* and scholars still do not know who was the mysterious Aragonese author of this book. Why did this mysterious writer use so many pseudonyms, why did he use the acrostics to mislead the readers, and why did he put the readers on the wrong track about his birth place?

The literature continues saying that Fernando de Rojas is the author of a large part of *La Celestina*. The scholars have spent many years in research and obtained excellent dissertations and articles. However, *La Celestina* continues to be a mystery and one cannot escape the impression that scholars continue working in a vicious circle.

Fortunately we have great researchers such as Jordi Bilbeny who stated that *el Lazarillo* was written by Juan de Timoneda and that the author of *La Celestina* came from Valencia. On the other hand Manuel Civera i Gómez (Sagunto, 1947) argues that the story recounted in *La Celestina* took place in Sagunto. Professor José Luis Canet Vallés was completely right when he suggested years ago that almost everything concerning the printing houses had still to be investigated.

One can step out of this vicious circle, but in that case Italy is the field for research. Suddenly it becomes clear that our mysterious Aragonese author had various activities. When he decided to live in Italy he quickly made contact with somebody from his native town to promote his book. In the beginning he was not only a bookseller, but also arranged himself to be an expert in another profession and so became a very famous man in Rome.

Due to his great ability to move in the influent cultural spheres of social life in Rome and other Italian places he was informed about all new books and so we see that he was involved in the translation of various Italian books which then found their market in Spain.

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Everything comes to an end and so he had to escape to other places after the sack of Rome. All scholars thought that he had died during this sack, but the truth is different.

He survived the sack. However, he was not sure about his life and therefore our mysterious author adopted another pseudonym and continued working in his field in his new residence. There he had old friends and soon was back in the highest cultural sphere. In the meantime he became older and decided to return to Spain. There we see him again involved in several books, because books were his life.

This mysterious author was a genius, a person of wide-ranging knowledge and learning. He had a great insight and enthusiasm for the arts and humanities and was a man ahead of his time.

This book documents my research of the last 4 years of this personage's life and gives sufficient information to complete the identification of the unknown mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*. Reader bear in mind that this topic is rather complex and more research is needed to establish the final validity of these findings. Nevertheless, scholars have now a completely new line of research at their disposal.

**Govert Westerveld**



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## **CHAPTER I**

### **Introduction**

Around 2005 my friend José Antonio Garzón Roger brought me into contact with a chess player in Zamora, Mr. Juan Antonio Ardila Bohórquez. This chess player told me by telephone that he was convinced that Francesch Vicent and Lucena were the same person. Garzón said that Ardila more or less stated what I had written in an article on the Internet. I did not go so far that time, but my intuition effectively went in that direction.



**Juan Antonio Ardila Bohórquez.**

On the other hand Garzón was investigating the chess history of Francesch Vicent and saw strange things. He did not think that Lucena could have been Francesch Vicent. However, according to my research everything was going precisely in this direction, rather against his will

## **To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés**

or rather against Garzón 's conviction. However, Garzón is a very good investigator who is only interested in the truth and evidence. Thereafter I had the impression that dates and circumstances did not fit me and I had to rectify my initial intuitive thinking that Francesch Vicent was Lucena.

In a letter of the ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena addressed to king Ferdinand it became clear that the ambassador had several sons. If Lucena could not be Francesch Vicent, according to Garzón, then Lucena could be a pseudonym for Fernando de Rojas or Juan del Encina. Finally I adopted the latest possibility and saw Juan del Encina as Lucena and as an adopted son of the protonotary. All of this is explained in the four books I wrote under a pseudonym about *La Celestina*.



**The author with José Antonio Garzón Roger and Prof. Ángel Alcalá, 2006**

In all those years I have had and still have a lot of help from Professor Ángel Alcalá of the University of New York, world's expert in the issue of Juan Ramirez de Lucena. I still cannot answer one of his

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questions: why Francesch Vicent used so many names throughout his life. However, thanks to his observations and critical comments I could change a lot in the preparations of my books.

However, I could not be satisfied with my work, because the researchers of *La Celestina* stated many times that an Aragonese writer must have been participated. Of course, I was then always thinking of Francesch Vicent, but how does one prove that? Consequently it was necessary to find out the activities of Francesch Vicent in Italy.

Was he working under the name of Lucena in Italy? I did not think so seeing the problem of the inquisition of his family. Maybe there was somebody in Italy who worked in the printing houses of Venice and Rome whose biography was still entangled in mysteries. He must have been a man of money and an influential person related to Ferrara, the people of Urbino, Rome, and if possible somebody who had to do with chess and the papal court. Briefly said, he was a man who moved in the same circles as Francesch Vicent.

In the meantime I wrote in English the biography of the ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena<sup>1</sup> and it is now time to write the biography of Lucena. This is of course is not easy, because we do not know who Lucena<sup>2</sup> really is. Was it Juan del Encina? Was it Fernando de Rojas? Or was it Francesch Vicent?

One thing is clear: that the name of Lucena disappeared and we find it back in France in some chess manuscript and that is all. The same happened with Francesch Vicent. His name disappeared and the only thing we know is that he was a chessmaster of Lucrecia Borgia in 1505 in Ferrara and after that date we do not know anything about him. It is thus clear that Francesch Vicent must have used another name in Italy

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<sup>1</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015) The Ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the Father of the Chess Book Writer Lucena.

<sup>2</sup> **VALLE DE RICOTE, Gofredo** (2008). Los tres autores de *La Celestina*: El judeoconverso Juan Ramírez de Lucena, sus hijos Fernando de Rojas (Lucena) y Juan del Encina (alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro y Francisco Delicado). Tomo II: El libro perdido de Lucena. “Tractado sobre la muerte de Don Diego de Azevedo.

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to make a living. Let us call him Mr. X and ask ourselves the following questions:

What is Mr. X's connection with chess?

If Mr. X is Lucena or Francesch Vicent, are there other chess manuscripts in this style?

Does Mr. X have connections with the people of Ferrara?

Is there a connection between Mr. X and Juan Ramírez de Lucena?

Did Mr. X have printing experience?

What is the connection between Mr. X and authors of books?

What was Mr. X's relationship with Isabel del Este?

What is the relationship between Mr. X and Gentile Feltria?

Is there a connection between Mr. X and Venice in the early 15th century?

What was the relationship between Luca Pacioli and Mr. X?

What is the relationship between Baldassare Castiglione and Mr. X?

Was Mr. X an important personage in Rome?

Can Mr. X be linked to Francisco Delicado?

Can Mr. X be linked to Bartolomé Torres Naharro?

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With all these details in mind I for years looked for such person in Italy. Suddenly I found such person in 2012 and most interesting was the fact that before 1508 nobody knew his life and that he used in his name the letters “Vicent”, his nickname was *Il Vicentino* and indeed he had to do with chess.

These questions resulted in a new personage who could indeed be Francesch Vicent and Lucena. In this book I will indicate the whereabouts of somebody who is known under the name of Ludovico Vicentino Degli Arriaghi.

In 2013 I also obtained a version of JGAAP 7 (Java Graphical Authorship Attribution Program) of the Duquesne University from the research scientist Michael Ryan, because I had serious problems with JGAAP 6.

Luckily, today we have an interesting program called JGAAP that is used for identification of authorship. However, this program still has its limitations and so we have to be careful in accepting what the program is showing. It is necessary to find additional proofs to be sure of future new data about the life of Lucena.

Years ago I was convinced that Francesch Vicent and Lucena were the same person. Notwithstanding this I rectified my original idea and gave up on this possibility in 2006. However, for all those years I tried to obtain more proofs for this hypothesis and now thanks to the JGAAP program we are going in a better direction.

Today thanks to JGAAP I am again of the opinion that Lucena is the pseudonym of Francesch Vicent<sup>3</sup>. So I changed Juan del Encina (Lucena) for Francesch Vicent (Lucena). Consequently I will not use Lucena for Juan del Encina anymore, because the person in question who mostly wrote *La Celestina* is now Francesch Vicent, an illegitimate son of Juan Ramirez de Lucena. I still consider Fernando

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<sup>3</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (In press). The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of *La Celestina* Throughout His Life.

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de Rojas to be an illegitimate son of the protonotary Juan Ramirez de Lucena, but won't call him Lucena either. With respect to the main title in my four books written between 2006 and 2009 JGAAP does not confirm that Juan Ramírez de Lucena<sup>4</sup> could have been an author of *La Celestina*. Consequently my future title will be quite different.

Here JGAAP confirms that the texts of the book *Propalladia* of the pseudonymous author Bartolomé Torres Naharro are written by Lucena and Juan del Encina. The foreword of the book seems to be by Lucena. So now the question is to find out who printed the *Propalladia* in Naples. Was it Lucena or was it Juan del Encina? It seems to be Lucena. He resulted to be throughout his life not only a great translator and corrector, but also an important editor and printer of many books. Lucena was the driving force behind the scenes for translating, correcting, editing and printing many books, while Juan del Encina and Fernando de Rojas were his helpers throughout their lives.

We see something similar in the work of *Lozana andaluza*. The texts were written by Lucena and most of the additional other texts are also written by him. However, historians say that the book is written by Francisco Delicado. As explained hereafter Francisco Delicado is Lucena and according to JGAAP Juan del Encina did not write many texts of the *Lozana Andaluza*.

Since it was a custom in the 15th and 16th centuries to seize other authors' texts and edit them under one's own name I have been careful with texts and forewords. The forewords could have been written by the editor of the work and the texts of the book could be of the real author. JGAAP indicates that Francisco Delicado has the authorial fingerprint of Lucena in two Italian books: *El modo de adoperare el legno de India occidentale* and *Specchio vulgare per li Sacerdoti*. With

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<sup>4</sup> **VALLE DE RICOTE, Gofredo** (2006). Los tres autores de La Celestina: El judeoconverso Juan Ramírez de Lucena, sus hijos Fernando de Rojas (Lucena) y Juan del Encina (alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro y Francisco Delicado). Tomo I: Estudio y documentos del antiguo autor de La Celestina, el ajedrecista Juan Ramírez de Lucena.

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regards to *Lozana Andaluza* JGAAP prefers Lucena as the author of the whole texts, but in other shorter texts JGAAP indicates Juan del Encina as the author. We have to be very careful with the author of the texts and forewords of any book, because it can be done by two authors. The text of the book *Propalladia* is according to JGAAP mainly the work of Juan del Encina, but the foreword is Lucena's! Again we have to be very careful with the final opinion.

### The printing houses in Salamanca

According to Collijn and Staaff the German Haebler has discerned two periods in the history of typesetting in Salamanca during the first phase. The first period runs between 1481 and 1488 and is distinguished by modest impressions, mostly linked to the name of the illustrious grammarian Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis. Haebler has called the anonymous printer, from whose presses these works came out, the typesetter Nebrissensis. He designates the second period beginning in 1490 as the typographer Nebrissensis: Spanish grammar. The latter period is notable for being the busiest and most commercial one, but it is also known by the large number of works that came off the presses; some in Roman types, but usually in Gothic characters<sup>5</sup>.

In Salamanca of 1495 a new printing establishment was installed run by the German Leonard Hutz, and the religious Fray Lope Sanz of Navarra. Hutz proceeded from Valencia, where he had practiced his art in company of another German Pedro Hagenbach. In 1497 Hutz left Salamanca and went to Zaragoza.

Why this interest of Francesch Vicent's to constantly use new pseudonyms? We must understand that the Jews were the most persecuted people. So we see that under the Spanish crown there was progressive deterioration of the situation of the Jews culminating in the

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<sup>5</sup> **GARCÍA DE SANTA MARÍA, Gonzalo** (1493/1908) *Evangelios e Epístolas con sus exposiciones en Romance*. Con dos introducciones por Isak Collijn y Erik Staaff. Uppsala/Leipzig, pp. XXV-XXVIII.



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expulsion in 1541 of the entire Kingdom of Naples. The presence of King Ferdinand in the city of Naples from 1506 to 1507 exacerbated this situation: he wanted to impose on the Jews a distinctive sign of red cloth that they had to wear exposed on the chest. Moreover, one had to strive for their expulsion, to which the great Captain refused, indicating economic reasons. Francesco de l'Angelina, called for a yellow hat to the Jews of the kingdom, like in Venice. The anti-judaic measures had their effect and April 28, 1521 as a decree imposing the yellow cap on the Jews of the Kingdom<sup>6</sup> was published. Logically some took their measures, Francesch Vicent included.

Let me give you an idea of the intuition and JGAAP. Seeing the printing activities of Lucena, my intuition told me that Lucena could have been involved in the translation of other Italian books and so I studied the books in relation to Ferrara and the years 1505, 1506, 1507, and 1508. Suddenly I saw that there was a book *Il Peregrino* coming from Ferrara in 1508 and that it was translated into Spanish by Hernán Díaz who was a resident of the University of Salamanca. That was rather strange and I could not believe it. Then I read that he was related to the University of Salamanca and this was quite suspicious, because he was saying the same as in the books of *La Celestina*, *Propaladia*, and *Lozana Andaluza*. Seeing that there was little known about Hernán Díaz it was clear that this author could be Lucena. This was confirmed by JGAAP.

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<sup>6</sup> **NOVOA, James Nelson** (2009) Un humanista sefardí en Nápoles. Los Diálogos de amor de León hebreo. In: Actas de las jornadas de estudios sobre cultura y literatura españolas en Italia en el quinquentésimo aniversario de la muerte de Isabel la Católica, Romanisches seminar der christian Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel/Centro de estudios sobre el renacimiento español, Salamanca, SEMYR, pp. 101-118. Citation on pp. 104-105

## CHAPTER II

### Intuition

The months of November and December of 2012 were crucial for me in connection with the history of chess. On 17 November 2012 my friend Jerónimo Miguel Briongos sent me two volumes of his doctoral thesis. We had seen each other on various occasions and over the recent years I encouraged him several times to finish his thesis about the prothonotary Lucena, which took him over 25 years.



**The author with Jerónimo Miguel Briongos at Barcelona**

He had my four books of *La Celestina*, and carefully discussed some of my books in his thesis. It immediately became clear to me that many points in my books had to be ameliorated. Studying his thesis I

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observed that Juan Ramírez de Lucena was in the service of Ferdinand<sup>7</sup> as ambassador in 1468, something that Miguel Briongos had told me years ago. However, there was another highly significant issue that I did not know; that Juan Ramírez de Lucena had two sons. One son by the name of Lucena, who was the author of the chess book of 1497 and the other son from a relationship he had with his housemaid Mari Diez. This son died shortly after birth. The prothonotary Lucena arranged this problem by marrying Mari Diez with his servant Pedro de la Carra.



**Josep Alió, José Antonio Garzón Roger and Miquel Artigas during the presentation of the NEBEA book (Photo Chessbase)**

One day after the presentation of the book NEBEA<sup>8</sup> I became aware of this valuable new book of José Antonio Garzón Roger, written in collaboration with two other chess historians, viz. Josep Alió and Miquel Artigas. During our meeting in the Turia hotel in Valencia Garzón informed me that this new work would exhaust the topic of Spanish chess literature because everything had now been said<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Juan Ramírez de Lucena joined in 1468 the court of the regent of Aragon and King of Sicily Ferdinand, son of John II of Aragon.

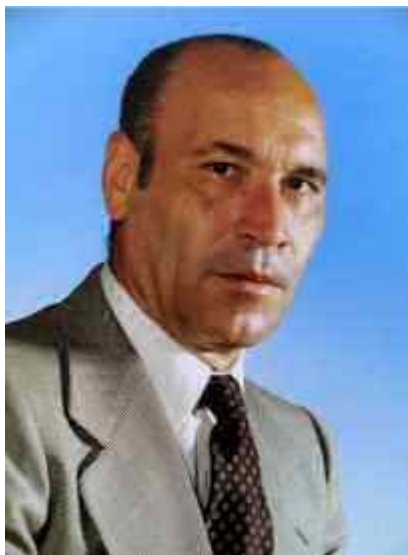
<sup>8</sup> The authors presented their book in Valencia at the ancient convent of Carmen on 29 November 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Effectively the same words as I observed in the online magazine of Chessbase.

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Effectively the same words I observed in the online magazine of Chessbase.

The words of my colleague and partner, Professor Francisco Sabater<sup>10</sup> (1930-1997) immediately came to my mind when our company Zoster S.A. was number 1 in the world of the orange extract Hesperidin<sup>11</sup>: "We still do not know anything about Hesperidin!" We may apply the same thing to the chess history in Spain in connection with Lucena because after all my efforts of several years we still do not know anything about Lucena.



**Professor Dr. Francisco Sabater García**

Later on, leafing through the NEBEA book I saw a draughts manuscript of Juan Antonio Ardila Bohórquez. Then I remembered his words because he thought that Lucena was nobody else than Francesch

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<sup>10</sup> Former rector of the University of Murcia in 1975-1980. I travelled with him on various occasions in the eighties to different countries, such as France, Germany, Austria, and Brazil, and we had extensive talks about research.

<sup>11</sup> Our quality and quantities were superior to our main German competitor, Merck of Darmstadt.

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Vicent<sup>12</sup>. At the time I discussed this issue with Garzón, but there was nothing that went in that direction and Garzón did not believe in Francesch Vicent. So I continued my studies in 2006 in the direction of Juan del Encina. I never forgot the words of Ardila Bohórquez.



**José Antonio Garzón Roger explaining the book NEBEA  
Valencia, November 2012**

In the third week of December 2012 I finally could read the biography of an interesting Italian person and immediately thought of Francesch Vicent. So I started reading more about him and saw that he worked as a bookseller in Rome. He was also employed as a scribe at the Apostolic Chancery in 1515. He had contacts with Vittoria Colonna. I

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<sup>12</sup> Mr. José Antonio Ardila Bohórquez informed me in January 2004 that he spoke with Dr. Ricardo Calvo before his death in 2002. The chess master confessed to him that Lucena (son) had a friendship with a musician named Juan de Fermoselle of Zamora. At first I did not pay attention to this comment and followed the line of investigation of Francesch Vicent, but research later confirmed these facts. I could not confirm the hypothesis that Francesch Vicent and Lucena were the same person. Neither did Garzón believe in this possibility.

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quickly concluded that he had to do with Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado.

With all these details at hand it was clear to me that I had to alter my way of thinking about Juan del Encina. If Juan Ramírez de Lucena had two sons and worked with Principe Ferdinand in 1468 in Valencia, it was very well possible that Francesch Vicent was indeed his son. Therefore I will now focus my original research on Lucena and his father, the prothonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena. However, this book is now not a historical work, but still more of a research work. Hopefully other experts in the work *La Celestina* and chess historians will improve on my work in future so that we get a much better understanding of the Lucena family.

However, before writing more I will discuss the matter of intuition. I agree that for writing history we need documents. What do we do if we do not have documents? Or which way should we choose to get the necessary documents later on? In draughts (checkers) we must constantly innovate to achieve victory. I always liked product innovation with an at least 10-year strategy. The process of seeking solutions for a new product was for me like playing draughts, because in this game one has to consider several variants in order to get the best move.

Ex-World Champion Dr. Max Euwe once had a conversation in New York with a world checkers champion Dr. Marion Tinsley. That's checkers on a checkerboard - a slightly simpler form of our international draughts game (on a 100-square board). He confided in me<sup>13</sup>: "If I want a quiet game with not too much effort, I will play chess. With checkers I must already be very careful at the third or fourth move that I do not do anything wrong, I have to calculate deeply, because one mistake can have fatal consequences. However,

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<sup>13</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2016). Draughts is more difficult than chess. Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca, N° 2, pp. 1-15. (Working paper in [www.researchgate.net](http://www.researchgate.net)). DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.25342.79680

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when I play chess, I can get away with making a less good move in the opening. I can correct the disadvantage later.”

Besides that, innovation is something that should be done continuously to maintain a leadership position. Just as Eduard Punset<sup>14</sup> highlights, the crisis we face today is not financial, but that of lack of innovation. Spain is a country where there was no scientific revolution. Smart Innovation never appears in a simple context. It comes in a complex one. Thus it is a multiplicity of interactions between entrepreneurs, investors, and scientists. That is what miserably fails in Spain according to Punset. I can only agree with him.

Observing my various hypotheses in history, they told me at the University of Murcia that I had a strong intuition. There's no doubt that the game of draughts has heavily contributed to this virtue. Chess or draughts calculations are exercising the intuitive thinking. Intuition is the bright and direct perception of an idea. At the board it is the immediate finding of a play. The player, whose process is not conscious but that of its consequences, relates it to past experiences. However, he cannot explain how he discovered it.

Einstein said: "The only real valuable thing is the intuition." Chess develops the scientific thought. In the game it generates many variants in mind. People explore and research new ideas in order to predict what will happen, and surprising revelations are interpreted. The next move is like a hypothesis and then they check it for validity.

Garry Kasparov, analyzing the games of the great players of the past 200 years with the help of a computer had found something unusually attractive. These talented players often achieved their best and most innovative movements in the hardest moments of his chess battles when they only depended on their innate intuition. Researcher and

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<sup>14</sup> **PUNSET, Eduard** (2010) La crisis no es financiera, es de innovación. In: Levante Mercantil Valenciano de 5 de febrero de 2010, p. 41

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author Tony Bastick<sup>15</sup> writes: "Intuition is a powerful human faculty, perhaps the most universal natural ability we possess. Finally, there has been a vast deal of scientific research done to prove the existence and validity of intuition."

The information overload that we experience daily in our business, combined with less time for planning and development of new strategies and products, means that decision-making is stressful with little time for analysis. Intuition is particularly suited in environments of rapid change where innovation and creativity are encouraged to thrive. Successful visionary leaders rely on their intuition. Researchers have discovered that the higher up the corporate ladder a business leader progresses, the more they rely on intuition and that 80% of successful CEOs have a highly developed intuitive decision-making style. Further on, the gifted scientist will usually develop a feel for his subject, which may not be substantially different from the intuition of which some historians boast.

The knowledge of intuition has made significant advances in recent years. I have always trusted my intuition in playing draughts, business, and history. Kasparov says Magnus Carlsen's mastery is rooted in a "deep intuitive sense no computer can teach" and that his pupil "has a natural feel for where to place the pieces." Chess intuition can be developed through deliberate practice of studying chess. I can say the same about the game of draughts, because I had a natural feel for where to place the pieces after having studied many positions and parties of the grandmasters. Taking into account my short draughts career in the sixties I thought of having possibilities in finding the author of the Celestina intuitively, provided that I studied most of the books and articles of La Celestina. For that reason I read hundreds of books and articles about La Celestina between 2004 and 2009, hoping that intuition would help me thereafter.

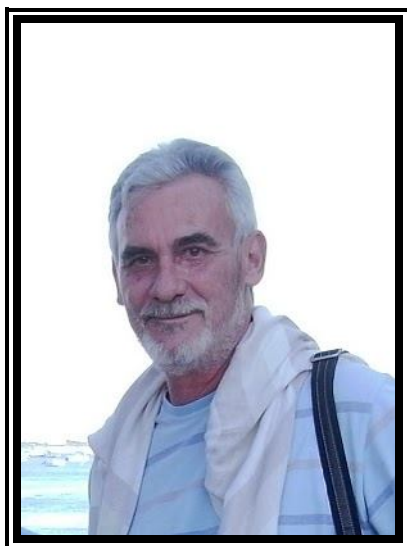
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<sup>15</sup> **BASTICK, Tony** (1982) *Intuition: How We Think and Act* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., xxiii



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The current principal academic position about the authorship of *La Celestina* is that Rojas found drafted the first comedy act and ended it by adding 15 acts. Given this clue, a small group of heterodox critics raises another possibility: that Rojas departed from a much larger text. I am an admirer of Professor José Luis Canet of the University of Valencia because he was right when he suggested years ago that almost everything concerning the printing houses had still to be investigated.



**Professor José Luis Canet (University of Valencia)**

José Guillermo García Valdecasas<sup>16</sup>, Jordi Bilbeny<sup>17</sup>, Alejandro Sendra<sup>18</sup>, and Josep María Orteu<sup>19</sup> are a few names of researchers who

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<sup>16</sup> **GARCÍA VALDECASAS, J. Guillermo** (2000) *La adulteración de La Celestina*. Madrid, Editorial Castalia

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.codic.cat/2009/10/21/autoria-catalana-de-la-celestina/>

<sup>18</sup> **SENDRA Alejandro** (2008) *La Celestina i la llengua catalana*. [http://histo.cat/1/asendr\\_celes\\_catal.pdf](http://histo.cat/1/asendr_celes_catal.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> *La vida de Llàtzer de Tormos*, Anònim, Trad. Antoni Bulbena i Tusell, estudi preliminar de Jordi Bilbeny, edició a cura de Josep Maria Orteu, Llibres de l'Índex, Barcelona, 2007. (ISBN 978-84-96563-51-3)

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believe that the author of La Celestina has to do with the city of Valencia. Manuel Civera argues that the story counted in 'La Celestina' took place in Sagunto. There is a reference in the book *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* of Baltasar Gracian that speaks literally of the author as "the hidden Aragonese"<sup>20</sup>.

Furthermore, there is a Latin book by Juan Luis Vives in which one can read: "In quo sapientior escapado quien nuestra lingua Scripsit Celestinam tragicomediam". In this book we demonstrate how Vives could have known the authority of the Aragonese writer. This means according to some authors that the language was Catalan. Rafael Beltrán<sup>21</sup> saw a similarity between the work of *Tirant lo Blanca* and *La Celestina*.

For Jordi Bilbeny, the term "Aragonese" names a member of the Crown of Aragon, since it says that there was a tradition of naming the subjects like that. Part of the university has expressed criticism of the general assumption of Bilbeny. However, I separate politics and history – and in such case I am a great admirer of Bilbeny. There is also a review of Dr. José Antonio Mateo Bernaldo de Quiros of the work "concealment of Celestina" of Garcia Valdecasas<sup>22</sup>.

I continue my research always thinking of the words of my colleague, professor Francisco Sabater "We still do not know anything about.....!". Everything is not exhausted or said with regards to Lucena and Francesch Vicent.

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Joannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de disciplinis libri XX. : Excudebat Antverpiae Michael Hillenius in Rapo, 1531; [T.I.] de corruptis artibus liber primus [ -septimus]. [T. II] de tradendis disciplina sev de institvione Christiana liber primvs. [T. III] De prima philosophia siue de intimo naturae opificio liber primus [ -octavus]( Juan Luis Vives : Amberes : Michael Hillenius, 1531)

<sup>20</sup> **GRACIÓ, Baltasar** (1669) *La agudeza y arte de ingenio*. Oraculo manual y arte de prudencia. El comulgatorio de varias meditaciones de la sagrada comunión. Amberes, Verdussen, 1669

<sup>21</sup> **BELTRÁN, Rafael** (2012) La petjada de *Tirant lo Blanc* and *La Celestina*. In: Fundació Institut Nova Historia, 24th of september, 2012

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero30/garvalde.html>

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

The student Lucena claims to be the son of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, an ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs. He still did not obtain any degree and was studying at the University of Salamanca. Lucena wrote *Arte de Ajedrez* and *Repetición de amores* and from the contents we conclude that he was an expert in the game of chess and had travelled to France and Italy before.

José Antonio Garzón Roger had shown in the past that Lucena copied the chessbook of Francesch Vicent. Years ago Garzón informed me that Ardila Bohórquez was convinced that Francesch Vicent and Lucena were the same person. Garzón told me that in this sense Ardila said roughly the same thing as I said in my article on the Internet. Garzón refers to this matter in his book<sup>23</sup>:

My friends Govert Westerveld and Juan Antonio Ardila Bohórquez, who have helped me so much in this research, have suggested to me several hypotheses implying a direct link between Vicent and Lucena. The idea is convincing, for it would explain many things but until now it has not been backed up by any documents or proofs –we are forced to fathom these matters in the field of facts.

Garzón could never accept this idea and that was the reason that I had to rectify my initial idea or intuition that was identical to that of Ardila Bohórquez.

There are two sons of Juan Ramirez de Lucena:

1. Lucena = Fernando de Rojas
2. Lucena = Francesch Vicent alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado

or: = Juan del Encina alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado

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<sup>23</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent. The History of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess*. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia, p. 445

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So I gave up my initial position on Francesch Vicent alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado that was a result of intuition after having read many papers of *La Celestina*. In 2008 I came to the conclusion of Juan del Encina alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado. I would have done better research had I followed my intuition.



**Juan Antonio Ardila Bohórquez**

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

That means that today readers should replace the title of my books of 2008 and 2009 as follows:

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (without printing) Los tres autores de La Celestina: Fernando de Rojas, Juan del Encina y Francesch Vicent (alias Lucena, Bartolomé Torres Naharro y Francisco Delicado). Tomo III: El misterioso Francesch Vicent

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (without printing) Los tres autores de La Celestina: Fernando de Rojas, Juan del Encina y Francesch Vicent (alias Lucena, Bartolomé Torres Naharro y Francisco Delicado). Tomo IV. La Celestina: un señuelo, Juan del Encina, y un autor velado, Francesch Vicent.

However, all those years I tried to obtain more proofs for this thesis based on intuition and now the time is ripe for publishing. Today, having more proofs, I take as hypothesis that Lucena is Francesch Vicent.

It was Juan Antonio Ardila Bohórquez of Zamora who had informed me that Lucena had a friend Juan del Feroselle. He obtained this information from Ricardo Calvo during one of his many lectures on the history of chess. So for me it was clear that this mysterious friend had helped Lucena. But who was this mysterious John Feroselle and where did Calvo get his information from? Juan de Feroselle was none other than Juan del Encina, the famous poet of Salamanca. Calvo was right, but it took me several years to find the key books he had studied and logically speaking he had not mentioned them as references in his book, as Calvo was still studying the life of Juan del Encina.

It is not an easy job to continue the work of the great Dr. Ricardo Calvo who in this book of 1999 declared that Calisto is Lucena. Something that could not obtain the approval of another Spanish chess historian, Pérez de Arriaga<sup>24</sup> and María Luisa Gómez-Ivanov considers

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<sup>24</sup> **PÉREZ DE ARRIAGA, Joaquín** (1997) *Lucena. El incunable de Lucena: Primer arte de ajedrez moderno*. Madrid: Polifemo, p. 26

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

it a speculation of little reliability<sup>25</sup>. Calvo was one of the first researchers<sup>26</sup> after Rubio<sup>27</sup> who detected that there was a relationship between *Repetición de amores* and *La Celestina*. After much research I already concluded years ago that only Juan del Encina could be the main author of *La Celestina*<sup>28</sup>.

Today I am convinced that there was a great friendship between Lucena, Juan del Encina, and Fernando de Rojas. The first two were soulmates in every respect. Lucena was a wealthy man and Juan del Encina was prepared to serve him against money. It is quite well possible that Fernando de Rojas and Lucena were the two sons of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the protonotary who had illegal children as observed in his biography<sup>29</sup>.

Seeing the very good relationship during their lives between Lucena and Juan del Encina, it is very possible that Juan del Encina was an adopted son of the protonotary. Fernando de Rojas was younger than Lucena and Juan del Encina, but he was in contact with both of them.

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<sup>25</sup> **GÓMEZ-IVANOV, María Luisa** (2005) *Algunas noticias sobre Lucena, hijo de Juan Ramírez de Lucena y autor de Repetición de amores e arte de axedrez: con CL juegos de partido* (Salamanca, h. 1497). In eHumanista, Volume 5, pp. 96-112

<sup>26</sup> **CARBALLO PICAZO, Antonio** (1956) *Res. De Repetición de amores*, ed. Jacob Ornstein. Revista de Filología Española, Nº 40, (Pp. 299 – 303), Citation on p. 302. Cited by **CALVO, Ricardo** (1997) *Lucena. La evasión en ajedrez del converso Calisto*. Perea Ediciones. Pedro Muñoz (Ciudad Real), p. 19

<sup>27</sup> **RUBIO GARCÍA, Luis** (1985). Estudios sobre *La Celestina*. Universidad de Murcia, Departamento de Filología Románica.

<sup>28</sup> **VALLE DE RICOTE, Gofredo** (2008) Los tres autores de *La Celestina*: El judeoconverso Juan Ramírez de Lucena, sus hijos Fernando de Rojas (Lucena) y Juan del Encina (alias Lucena, Bartolomé Torres Naharro y Francisco Delicado). Tomo III: bajo el seudónimo de Godofredo Valle de Ricote. - El misterioso Juan del Encina

**VALLE DE RICOTE, Gofredo** (2009) *Los tres autores de La Celestina: El judeoconverso Juan Ramírez de Lucena, sus hijos Fernando de Rojas (Lucena) y Juan del Encina (alias Lucena, Bartolomé Torres Naharro y Francisco Delicado)*. Tomo IV: bajo el seudónimo de Godofredo Valle de Ricote. - *La Celestina: un señuelo, Fernando de Rojas, y un autor velado, Juan del Encina*

<sup>29</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015) *The Ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the Father of the Chess Book Writer Lucena*

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The proof is his large library and works that had to do with Juan del Encina and Lucena. It is quite well possible that he was involved in the printing of many books.

Was there a difference of age of some years between Juan del Encina (1468) and Lucena? Maybe a difference of two years, enough time to express Juan del Encina in his *La Celestina* through the voice of Sempronio in a brotherly way to Calisto (Lucena):

E dicen algunos que la nobleza es una alabanza que proviene de los merecimientos e antigüedad de los padres; yo digo que la ajena luz nunca te hará claro, si la propia no tienes; e por tanto, no te estimes en la claridad de tu padre, que tan magnifico fue, sino en la tuya.

### Translation:

And some say that nobility is a praise that comes from the merits and antiquity of the parents; I say that the light of others never will make yours clear if you do not have your own; therefore do not deem in the clarity of your father who was so magnificent, but in yours.

Lucena was an expert in the printing houses. He arranged the printing of the books, made translations of Italian books, and used others' texts to print them under this name. He was also able to write poems and texts. Never to the level of Juan del Encina, but sufficiently well written to publish certain books. He was the man with his money behind *la Celestina* and Juan del Encina was his faithful servant.

Thanks to the position of his father Juan Ramirez de Lucena he was able to have contact with the highest nobility in Italy. That was the reason that Juan del Encina was quickly well positioned in Rome in 1499 and only a few years later Lucena would follow him. Once in Italy, Lucena made the necessary contacts to have *Tragicomedia of La Celestina* translated and written.

Already early in the nineties Lucena had the necessary contacts with the printing houses to promote certain books. He was active as translator of Latin and Italian texts. He probably worked for some time

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with the famous Nebrija who had a printing house in Salamanca, or he had the necessary contacts with Nebrija. It appears that we do not see the term „dama” (lady) of chess in the dictionary of 1492, but 3 years later we observe the the activity of Lucena in the Latin dictionary.

Nebrija<sup>30</sup> in his Latin dictionary of 1495 had already introduced the new words like "dama (lady) is almost lady" (Domina-ae - novum), and "andarraia" (calculorum ludus - novum). Novum comes here in the sense of something new. Nebrija prepared this dictionary between 1492 and 1495 and it becomes clear that the addition of the words in this dictionary was before the edition of the first chess book of Francesch Vicent in Valencia. Lucena could do that in Salamanca, because he was aware of the earlier chess activities in Valencia and those of his father Juan Ramirez de Lucena and worked together with Nebrija. It becomes very clear why Francisco Delicado and Bartolomé Torres Naharro (pseudonyms of Lucena) refer to Antonio de Nebrija.

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<sup>30</sup> This author wrote a Spanish-latinum dictionary that was published around 1493 - 1495. We tried to find the same words in the Latin dictionary Hispanum 1492, but these terms do not exist there.



## CHAPTER III

### Introduction to Ludovico Vicentino

According to my research this man is nobody else but Francesch Vicent, Lucena, Bartolomé Torres Naharro, and Francisco Delicado. At first I will state what I found out about him.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (1475–1527) was a papal scribe and type designer in Renaissance Italy. Very little is known of his life circumstances. He may have started his career as a writing master in Venice, although this has been disputed<sup>31</sup>. Around 1510 he was a bookseller in Rome. Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was in Urbino in 1506 and moved to Rome in 1512 where he was appointed Secretary to Pope Leo X. Arrighi, the famous writing master, is reported to have worked in the Papal Chancery under Bembo's supervision<sup>32</sup>.

Researchers think that Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino<sup>33</sup> was the same person as Ludovico Vicentino. Varthema's *Itinerario* describes the first recorded eyewitness account by a Westerner of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Varthema was also the first traveler to reach India by the Red Sea and return by the Cape of Good Hope. The present first edition is one of the great rarities of travel literature, very seldom encountered on the market. This extremely rare edition

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<sup>31</sup> **OGG, Oscar** (1953) *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy*, Dover Publications. p. 253

<sup>32</sup> **KENT, Allen & LANCOUR, Harold** (1969) *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Volume 2*, Associat. to Book World, Marcel Dekker Inc. New York, p. 329

<sup>33</sup> **VARTHEMA, Lodovico**. *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethiopia: la fede, el vivere, & costumi de tutte le prefate provincie con gratia & privilegio infra nota to*. [Colophon:] Rome, Stephano Guillireti de Loreno & Hercule de Nani for Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino, December 6, 1510. 4to, tan morocco by Chambolle Duru

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precedes one of the most remarkable travel books of the Renaissance. It was probably in December 1510 when this Roman edition was printed.

Ludovico Vicentino, after being disciple of Tagliente, had contacts with Rafael, Machiavelli, and Lorenzo de Medici. A further testimony appeared two years later in the opinion of Donati, which attributes the woodcut on vellum from an incomplete privilege of Julius II on 23 July 1512 to Arrighi because there the characters have been found identical to the examples of the letters of the bull in the second part of the Treaty of Arrighi.

His ambition was to have his own printing house specializing in the production of limited-edition quality works for wealthy clients. He perfected his hand as a copyist for patrons such as Vittoria Colonna, Lorenzo de Medici, and Machiavelli; through the patronage of Cardinal Giulio de Medici he was given work in the Papal chancery as scribe in 1515. His experience in calligraphy led him to create an influential pamphlet on handwriting in 1522 called *La Operina*, which was the first book devoted to writing the italic script known as chancery cursive<sup>34</sup>. This work, a 32-page woodblock printing, was the first of several publications. He published the work under the name of Vicentino, but other publishers or writes today use Vincentio<sup>35</sup>. Apparently his daily name was "Il Vicentino".

He turned to printing in 1522 and designed his own italic typefaces for his work, which were widely emulated. His letterforms were revived in the 20th century by designers such as Stanley Morison, Frederic Warde, Robert Slimbach (for example Adobe Jenson italic), and Jonathan Hoefler (in his Requiem Text typeface).

In 1524 Giovanni Antonio Tagliente, the teacher of Arrighi, published his *Lo presente libro insegna la vera arte*. It is said that Arrighi

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<sup>34</sup> LAWSON, Alexander S. (1990) *Anatomy of a Typeface* David R. Godine. p. 84

<sup>35</sup> VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico ("Vicentino"). (1522) *Operina di Ludovico Vicentino da imparare di scrivere littera cancelleresca*. VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico (1523) *Il modo da temperare le penne con le varie sorti de littere ordinato per Ludovico Vicentino*

published *La Operina* only two years earlier to eclipse the book of Tagliente. Before *La Operina* other books were printed on the art of making letters, such as *el Theorica et Practica de Sigismondo Fanti de 1514*, the first illustrated handbook, or *Divina proportione de Luca Pacioli de 1509*. These books show how to draw a gothic rotund of geometric shape, and they focus more on teaching theory than on practice<sup>36</sup>.

According to all historians the last printing of Ludovico Vicentino Degli Arrighi was dated shortly before the sack of Rome (1527), during which he was probably killed<sup>37</sup>. However, Pratesi did not know that he went to Venice under the name of Francisco Delicado. Arrighi took the blocks with him to Venice on a trip in 1527 and left them there; he subsequently had a fallout with his Roman partner Ugo da Carpi who had created a special type based on Arrighi's design. As a result of this subsequent Roman editions of Arrighi's writing manual were based on recut blocks by da Carpi, while the Venetian editions by Zoppino used the original blocks. Zoppino's editions were also the first to combine together the *Operina* and *Il Modo*, but only the present, second, edition includes Arrighi's instructions for manufacturing fine ink.

Printing at least forty-three books, Degli Arrighi had been commissioned to produce humanistic and ecclesiastical works by prominent aristocratic and clerical figures such as Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547) and Giovanni de Medici, who would later go on to be Pope Clement VII<sup>38</sup>. Two manuscripts from Vincentino were discovered<sup>39</sup>. Despite all publications about him<sup>40</sup> Ludovico Vicentino

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<sup>36</sup> VALLE SOLANO, Diego (2011) *Los manuales de escritura entre los siglos XV y XX*

<sup>37</sup> See the entry by PRATESI, A. (1962) *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 4, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, pp. 310-313

<sup>38</sup> NELSON NOVOA, James (2011) *Leone Ebreo's dialoghi d'amore as a pivotal document of Jewish-Christian Relations in Renaissance Rome* In: *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance. Sources and Encounters*, p. 69

<sup>39</sup> LAW, V. (1973) *Two More Arrighi Manuscripts Discovered*, In: *The Book Collector* 27, 3, pp. 370-379

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

continues to be a mysterious person on whom the final verdict still has not been pronounced.

### More about Ludovico Vicentino

Ludovico Vicentino Degli Arrighi the bookseller, publisher, papal scribe, printer, and type designer in Renaissance Rome was the "scriptor brevium" in the Papal Chancery. Very little is known of the circumstances of his life. He may have started his career as a writing master in Venice, although this has been disputed<sup>41</sup>. Around 1510 he was a bookseller in Rome. The fact that he was working with Bartolomeo della Valle can be a sign that he was a wealthy man. That may be due to the fact that he could finance an important book:

In 1510 a ten-year privilege was granted to Ludovico di Varthema and his heirs for his *Itinerario* which was printed by Stephano Guillereti in collaboration with Hercole Nani at the expense of Ludovico degli Arrighi Vicentino. The privilege carried a fine of one hundred gold ducats to be divided between the Camara Apostolica and the rightful beneficiaries. Seven years later, in 1517 the book was republished and a new privilege was issued for another ten years and valid within the territory of the Papal States<sup>42</sup>.

As stated before, researchers think that Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino<sup>43</sup> was the same person as Ludovico Vicentino. This seems to be correct since Varthema in 1509 was in Marino, on the

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<sup>40</sup> **WARDROP, James** (1939) Arrighi revived. In: Signature 12, pp. 26-46

**OSLEY, A.S.** (1980) Scribes and Sources: *Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century*, Boston, pp. 70-80

**FAIRBANK, A.** (1971) *Another Arrighi Manuscript Discovered*, In: *The Book Collector* 20, pp. 332-334

**CLOUGH, C.** (1989) *A Manuscript of Paolo Govio's Historiae sui temporis Liber VII: More Light on Ludovico Degli Arrighi*, In: *The Book Collector* 38, p. 46ff. for Arrighi's circle of patrons, including Giulio de Medici, in Leonine Rome.

<sup>41</sup> **OGG, Oscar** (1953) *Three Classics of Italian Calligraphy*, Dover Publications. p. 253

<sup>42</sup> **VITCOMBE, Christopher L.C.E.** (2004) *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*, pp. 46-47

<sup>43</sup> **LACH, Donald F.** (1994) *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder*. Book 2, p. 198

Alban Hills, where he told the story of his labours to the granddaughter of Federigo da Montefeltro, Vittoria Colonna<sup>44</sup>. The book was printed on 6 December in Rome in 1510 and dedicated to Agnesina Feltria, the fourth daughter of Federico di Montefeltro and wife of Fabrizio Colonna. Vittoria Colonna was a cousin of Federigo Fregoso who instructed Marco Girolamo Vida to write a chess poem in 1507 and was a child of Gentile Feltria and Agostino Fregoso. In this respect I would like to remember that the Italian translation of *La Celestina* was dedicated in 1506 to Madonna Gentile Feltria de Campofregoso, sister of Agnesina Feltria.

Varthema's *Itinerario* describes the first recorded eyewitness account by a westerner of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Varthema<sup>45</sup> was also the first traveler to reach India by the Red Sea and return by the Cape of Good Hope. The present first edition is one of the great rarities of travel literature, very seldom encountered on the market. This extremely rare edition precedes one of the most remarkable travel books of the Renaissance. Casamassima informs that the original calligraphic copy is in the National Library at Florence<sup>46</sup>.

In this sense we need to know that Ludovico Vicentino wrote a book with the chancery cursive<sup>47</sup>. This work, a 32-page woodblock printing, was the first of several such publications<sup>48</sup>. He published the work under the name of Vicentino, but other publishers or writers

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<sup>44</sup> **MARTINO, Valentino** (2010) *Lessico della verità nella costruzione dell' "Itinerario" (1510) di Ludovico de Vartema*

<sup>45</sup> **VARTHEMA, Lodovico:** *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egypto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethiopia: la fede, el vivere, & costumi de tutte le prefate provincie con gratia & privilegio infra nota to.* [Colophon:] Rome, Stephano Guillireti de Loreno & Hercule de Nani for Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino, December 6th, 1510. 4to, tan morocco by Chambolle Duru

<sup>46</sup> **CASAMASSIMA, E.** (1962) *Ludovico Degli Arrighi detto Vicentino copista dell' 'Itinerario' del Varthema*, In: *La bibliofilia*, LXIV, pp. 117-162

<sup>47</sup> **LAWSON, Alexander S.** (1990) *Anatomy of Typeface*, David R. Godine. p. 84

<sup>48</sup> **FAIRBANK, A.** (1951) *Italic handwriting*, In: *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 99, No. 4858 (19 OCTOBER, 1951), pp. 884-895

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

today use Vincentio<sup>49</sup>. Apparently his daily name was "Il Vicentino". As already stated, he turned to printing in 1522 and designed his own italic typefaces for his work, which were widely emulated. His letterforms were revived in the 20th century by designers such as Stanley Morison, Frederic Warde, Robert Slimbach (for example Adobe Jenson italic), and Jonathan Hoefler (in his Requiem Text typeface). Il Vicentino had good contacts in Venice, where it was published by Eustachio Celebrino in 1522-1523 too<sup>50</sup>.

Morison stated that "For the most part Arrighi's books are severely undecorated, and so good was his typography that he could well dispense with other decoration. It is difficult indeed to understand why this remarkable printer should not be better known and why his earlier italic should have been unable to compete with the Aldine cursive types and with types derived from France. An increased interest in Arrighi will probably bring to light many more books than the twenty-one here enumerated<sup>51</sup>."

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<sup>49</sup> **VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico** ('Vicentino'). (1522) *Operina di Ludovico Vicentino da imparare di scrivere littera cancelleresca*. **VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico** (1523) *Il modo da temperare le penne con le varie sorti de littere ordinato per Ludovico Vicentino*

<sup>50</sup> **LEIGHTON, J. & j.** (1522-1523) *Early Printed Books Arranged by Presses*, London, p. 160

<sup>51</sup> **MORISON, Stanley & McKITTRICK, Davi John** (2009) *Selected Essays on the History of Letterforms in Manuscripts and Prints*, Cambridge University Press, p. 36

## CHAPTER IV

### Researches on Ludovico Vicentino

Ludovico Vicentino Degli Arrighi (1475-1527), also called Il Vicentino, is the name of a person coming from the province of Vicentino (Vicenza) according to the scholars of today. As we can see on the map, the town Vicenza is near Venezia and Ferrara.



Pratesi<sup>52</sup> mentions **ARRIGHI**, Ludovico, il Vicentino (Ludovicus Vicentinus, Ludovicus Henricus, de Henricis, Degli Arrighi). A native of Cornedo Vicentino<sup>53</sup> (and not Tarquinia, as Wardrop believed, misinterpreting one of the subscriptions of him: "Ludovicus de Henricis de Corneto Vicentinus).

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<sup>52</sup> **PRATESI, A.** (1962) Dizionario biografico degli italiani 4, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, pp. 310-313

<sup>53</sup> The place Cornedo Vicentino belongs to the province of Vicenza in Italy.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

However, to detect the life of Francesch Vicent in Italy or in Spain in those years is nothing easy. Pratesi said in his short biography of Ludovico Vicentino:

**ARRIGHI**, Ludovico, detto il Vicentino (Ludovicus Vicentinus, Ludovicus Henricus, de Henricis, Degli Arrighi). - Nativo di Comedo Vicentino (e non di Tarquinia, come ha creduto il Wardrop, male interpretando una delle sottoscrizioni di lui: "Ludovicus de Henricis de Corneto Vicentinus")<sup>54</sup>

The description of his origin is not very hopeful, because historians think that he is of an Italian origin and they know practically nothing about his life. I could not agree with Pratesi's opinion, but how does one contradicts that and to prove that Arrighi or Ludovico Vicentino is our famous Francesch Vicent?

Others in internet state:

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (1475–1527) was a papal scribe, and type designer in Renaissance Italy. Very little is known of the circumstances of his life. He may have started his career as a writing master in Venice, although this has been disputed. Around 1510 he was a bookseller in Rome. He was employed as a scribe at the Apostolic Chancery in 1515. His experience in calligraphy led him to create an influential pamphlet on handwriting in 1522 called *La Operina*, which was the first book devoted to writing the italic script known as chancery cursive. This work, a 32-page woodblock printing, was the first of several such publications. He turned to printing in 1524 and designed his own italic typefaces for his work, which were widely emulated. His letterforms were revived in the 20th century by designers such as Stanley Morison, Frederic Warde, Robert Slimbach (for example Adobe Jenson italic) and Jonathan Hoefler (in his *Requiem Text* typeface.) His last printing was dated shortly before the sack of Rome (1527), during which he was probably killed.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi published various books, among them in 1523:

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<sup>54</sup> See the entry by **PRATESI, A.** (1962) *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 4, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, pp. 310-313



## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

*"Regola da imparare scrivere varii caratteri de littere con li suoi compassi et misure: and il modo di temperare le penne secondo la sorte de littere che vorrai scrivere".*

And so we learn that he had a business collaboration with Zoppino (Nicolo d'Aristotile) in Venice.

The earlier stated book was lately offered by the bookseller Martayan Lan from New York at the price of 18.500 US dollars and the book description was as follows<sup>55</sup>:

**Book Description:** Venice Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino 1533, 4to. (30) ff. Bound in early thick paper wrappers. Unidentified engraved ex libris on front end pastedown and an old shelf sticker on front fly leaf. Several ink spots but generally excellent. Very rare early augmented edition (second) of Arrighi's treatise on writing containing both the writing samples and the instructions on preparing pen and ink, which were previously issued separately. (See below) Arrighi's writing books were among the earliest and most influential of the genre, contributing significantly to the adoption of Italian hands throughout Europe. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (1475-1527) was a native of Vicenza but moved to Rome around 1510, where he entered the printing business. His ambition was to have his own printing house specializing in the production of limited-edition quality works for wealthy clients. He perfected his hand as a copyist for patrons such as Vittoria Colonna, Lorenzo de' Medici and Machiavelli; through the patronage of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici he was given work in the Papal chancery. He began composing a writing manual in 1522, and the resulting two volumes, *La Operina* and *Il Modo de temperare le Penne* were probably published in 1524 and 1525 respectively. (Osley, Becker). Arrighi took the blocks with him to Venice on a trip in 1527 and left them there<sup>56</sup>; he subsequently had a falling out with his Roman partner Ugo da Carpi who had created a special type based on Arrighi's design. As a result of this, subsequent Roman editions of Arrighi's writing manual were based on recut blocks by da Carpi, while the Venetian editions by Zoppino used the original blocks. Zoppino's editions were also the first to combine together the *Operina* and *Il Modo*, but only the present, second, edition includes Arrighi's instructions for manufacturing fine ink. "If we compare the contents of Arrighi's *Operina* and *Il*

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Internet:  
<http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?bsi=60&prl=50&sortby=1&vci=3483280&prevpage=1>

<sup>56</sup> This is now regarded as something definitive, but there are no written proofs of the same. It is quite well possible that he took the original blocks with him in the year 1528 when he left Rome and started publishing books in Venice under another name.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

Modo with those of Tagliente's *Lo presente libro*, we can detect, behind the general similarity, some important difference. Arrighi's books are better presented and bear the stamp of a professional typographer; Arrighi has a higher proportion of white alphabets against a black background, an indication of Celebrino's collaboration' and his selection of models reveals the natural bias of a scribe trained in book hands and ecclesiastical work. He is thinking more of the Church than of the Foreign Office or Stock Exchange. His manuals, in other words, are cast in the mould of Rome rather than Venice."

Most authors state that he was born in 1475 and died in 1527. However, here begin the problems because according to the British Library Ludovicus Vicentinus published a book titled *Vita et miracula Beati Bernardini Senensis*<sup>57</sup> around 1482 in Vicenza. Furthermore in a catalogue I found<sup>58</sup>:

**VINCENTINUS, (LUDOVICUS) ord. min.**

**Vita beati Benardini Senensis                      4°. s. l. et a.**

This time the surname Vicentinus was changed in Vincentinus. So there was indeed an author with the name of Ludovicus Vicentinus (Vincentinus). On the other hand we see another strange coincidence with the title of the book *Vita Beati*, because Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the father of the chess writer Lucena wrote a book with the title *Vita Beata*.

We are fortunate to possess several detailed records of the life of St. Bernardine written by his contemporaries. Three of these are given in full in the *Acta Sanctorum Maji*, V, with Comm. Praev. by Henschen. The earliest by Bernabaeus Senensis, an eyewitness of many of his records, was compiled in 1445 shortly after the saint's death. The second by the celebrated humanist Maphaeus Vegius, who knew the saint personally, was printed in 1453. The third by Fra Ludovicus

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<sup>57</sup> **VICENTINUS, Ludovicus** (1482) *Vita et miracula Beati Bernardini Senensis*. Vicenza, Jacobus de Dusa

<sup>58</sup> **DOUCE, Francis** (1840) Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq. to the Bodleian Library, p. 285

Vincentinus of Aquila was issued after the exhumation of the saint's body in 1472<sup>59</sup>.

This time the place is not Vicenza, but Aquila and the publisher is a Fray.

### ¿Vicentino o Vincentino?

Writers of books nearly almost used the name of Vicentino. However, there are also cases of Vincentino<sup>60</sup>, as can be seen in a French book:

Frere Lucas Pacioli, du bourg Sainct Sepulchre, de l'ordre des freres mineurs et Theologien, qui a faict en vulgar italien un livre intitulé, Divina proportionne, et qui al volu figurer les dictes lettres attiques, n'en a point aussi parlé ne baillé raison; et je ne m'en esbays point, car j'ay entendu par aucuns Italiens qu'il a desrobé sesdictes lettres, et prinses de feu messire Leonard Vince, qui est trespasé a Amboise, et estait tres excellent philosophe et admirable painctre, et quasi un aultre Archimedes. Ce dict frere Lucas a faict imprimer ses lettres attiques comme siennes. De vray, elles peuvent bien estre a luy, car il ne les a pas faictes en leur deue proportion, comme je

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<sup>59</sup> **ROBINSON, Paschal** (1907) St. Bernardine of Siena. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York. This article was transcribed for New Advent by Olivia Olivares. Dedicated to the memory of Joseph Cardinal Bernardin (1928-1996).

[http://mercaba.org/FICHAS/Enciclopedia/B/san\\_bernardino\\_de\\_siena.htm](http://mercaba.org/FICHAS/Enciclopedia/B/san_bernardino_de_siena.htm)

The following references were given:

Wadding, *Annales*, XII, ad ann. 1450, n. I y *Scriptores* (1650), 57-58; Sbaralea, *Supplementum* (1806), 131-134, 725; Amadio Luzzo, *Vita di S. Bernardino* (Venecia, 1744; Roma, 1826; Siena, 1854; Monza, 1873); Berthaumier, *Hist. De S. Bernardin* (Paris, 1862); Toussaint, *Das Leben des H. Bernardin von Siena* (Ratisbona, 1873); *Life of St. Bernardine of Siena* (Londres, 1873); Leo de Clary, *Lives of the Saints of the Three Orders of St. Francis* (Taunton, 1886), II, 220-275; Leon, *Vie de St. Bernardin* (Vanves, 1893); Alessio, *Storia di S. Bernardino e del suo tempo* (Mondovi, 1899); Ronzoni, *L'Eloquenza di S. Bernardino* (Siena, 1899). Indudablemente la mejor biografía moderna de San Bernardino es la de Paul Thureau-Dangin de la Academia Francesa: *Un predicateur populaire dans l'Italie de la Renaissance: S. Bernardin de Siene* (Paris, 1896). Esta brillante monografía ha sido traducida a varios idiomas: italiano (1897), alemán (1904), e inglés (1906).

<sup>60</sup> **VECHIETTI, J.** (1790). Biblioteca Picena o sia notizie istoriche delle opere e degli scrittori piceni. Volume Primo. Lett. A.

**JUGOSLAVENSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI** (1892). Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium, p. 261.

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monstreray ci apres au renc desdictes lettres Sigismunde Fante, noble Ferrarien, qui enseigne escrire maintes sortes de lettres, nen baille aussi point de raison. Pareillement ne faict messere **Ludovico Vincentino**. Je ne scay si Albert Durer en baille bonne raison, mais toutesfois si a il erre en la deue proportion des figures de beaucoup de lettres de son livre de Perspective....Je ne vis onc homme qui les feist ne entendist myeulx que maistre Simon Hayeneufve, aultrement dict maistre Simon du Mans.

Years later we see appear the name of Vincentinus (and not Vicentinus) again in a French book<sup>61</sup>:

En 1522 & 1522 florissoit à Rome un excellent Ecrivain & Graveur en bois, nommé Ludovicus Vincentinus, ou Louis de Vicence, lequel a fait & gravé en bois lui-même un Livre d'Exemples d'écrire de la Chancellerie Romaine, & autre forte d'écriture italienne, avec de magnifiques entrelacs gravés très- proprement, plusieurs fortes d'alphabet, Lettres Majuscules & Capitales, d'abord en trente-deux pages in-8°. Compris le titre d'une planche pour chaque page, dont a plûpart ont été gravées à Rome, & quelques-unes à Venise dans lesdites années 1522 & 1523. Après quoi se trouve la figure d'une plume taillée & liée en fautoir par un ruban avec un canif ancien, dont le manche étroit & long du double des Modernes, est fait comme celui d'un couteau à gaine, contenant toute une planche, & très-proprement gravée, & à la quatrieme planche & page suivante, une plume non taillée, & quatre autres de fuite différemment taillées: après quoi suivent huit pages d'écritures rondes, gothiques, demi gothiques, dont la derniere en espece de bâtarde ou coulée, contient ces vers latins du fameux Poëte *Casanova*.

There are two books<sup>62</sup> more where we find the name Ludovicus Vincentinus. The first is a French book of 1765 and the second an Italian book of 1787. Both deal with: *Vidae Marci Hieronymi De Arte Poetica Libri III. De Bombyce Libri II. De Ludo Scacchorum, Hymni, & Bucolia*.

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<sup>61</sup> **PAPILLON, Jean-Michel** (1766) *Traite Historique et Pratique de la gravure en bois...* Tome Premier. Paris, pp. 188-189

<sup>62</sup> **BURE, Guillaume-François de** (1765) *Bibliographie instructive: our Traité de la connoissance des livres rares et singuliers*. Tome I. Paris, p. 417

**MORELLIO, Jacobo** (1787) *Bibliotheca Maphsei Pinellii Veneti*. Tomus Secundus, Venetiis, p. 461

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Rome, 1527. On the other hand there is also a surname of Vincentinus in the Vatican<sup>63</sup>.

### **Ludovicus Vincentinus**

scriptor brevium 1520 (Brev. Lat. 7) - 1523 (Brev. Lat. 8)

[Frenz, Kanzlei num. 1558]

Better said, nothing is known of his real origin and all that is written till now is only speculation. The same applies to his death. Everybody thinks that he died in 1527, but this can be far from being true. His last printing was dated shortly before the Sack of Rome (1527), during which he was probably killed<sup>64</sup> according to most researchers.

On the contrary, James Wardrop explains in his work that he thinks that the date of Arrighi's death is conjectural. It is assumed that he died in the Sack of Rome in 1527 since nothing is known of him after that date<sup>65</sup>. This, of course, is a more accurate exposure of the real situation.

### **Nicolo d'Aristotile de' Rossi of Ferrara (Il Zoppino)**

Since Il Vicentino worked for a long time with the printer Il Zoppino in Venice, it is important to have more information about him. Rosa Salzberg gave full details in her dissertation about Nicolo d'Aristotile de' Rossi of Ferrara (Il Zoppino) and so we appreciate the following details<sup>66</sup>:

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<sup>63</sup> Repertorium Officiorum Romanae Curiae, auctore Th. Frenz, conspectus generalis personarum alphabeticus, secundum ordinem praenominum, littera L.

<sup>64</sup> See the entry by **PRATESI, A.** (1962) *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 4, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, pp. 310-313

<sup>65</sup> **WARDROP, James** (1963) *The Script of Humanism* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1963)

<sup>66</sup> **SALBERG, Rosa** (2008) *From Printshop to Piazza: The Dissemination of Cheap Print in Sixteenth-century Venice*, A dissertation submitted to the department of history in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Queen Mary College, the University of London.

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An eminent example of printing is Nicolo d'Aristotile de' Rossi of Ferrara nicknamed "il Zoppino" (the little cripple). Zoppino's importance only recently is being recognised and rewarded with serious study partly because of his extraordinary mobility around northern Italy in the early years of the Cinquecento. Zoppino was an itinerant publisher in the early years of his career, commissioning works in Bologna (1503), Milan (1504), Pesaro (ca. 1510), Ancona (1514), and Perugia (1524-25). While he opened a shop in San Fantin in Venice and produced the majority of his works there, he continued to roam and shows little sign of having embedded himself in the social world of the Venetian printers in the ways discussed above. In 1536, in order to be able to work in Florence, he enrolled in the Florentine *Arte dei medici e speziali* -the guild that encompassed sellers of print- as a self-described "*libraius de ferraria*" and in 1542 petitioned to open a bookshop in Ravenna. The petition noted that "wandering for so many years through the cities of Italy, as he has done, " Zoppino had observed the need in Ravenna for "a shop full of books with which to serve and help itself, " which he promised to provide for the benefit of the city. The comments of authors about Zoppino also highlighted his mobility. Raphael Valcieco of Verona, the author of a continuation of Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, wrote that willingly he had "placed [the book] in the hand of Nicola Zoppino / so that he might carry it to every clime."

Zoppino is also a significant figure because of his ties to the world of itinerant performing and the possibility that he may have been a performer himself before he settled into a long and productive publishing career. The identification of Zoppino as a performer originally was prompted by the appearance of a charlatan/ballad singer character called Zoppino in several works by Pietro Aretino, whose first foray into print was a collection of poems published by Zoppino in Venice in 1512. However, Zoppo or Zoppino were among the most common nicknames for performers throughout this period, and a number of them dabbled in publishing. Yet, many of Zoppino's works, especially in the early years, were of the type geared towards recital and sale by charlatans and street performers. They were, for the most part, in the vernacular, octavo or quarto editions of poetry from the Quattro- and Cinquecento. A good number of Zoppino's publications were directly linked to performance, both plays and the kinds of songs and poems habitually performed by popular entertainers. Poems by him appear occasionally in his works and around 1510 he printed the only work known in which he is the identified author, a song in the popular *barzelletta* form about the Venetian war with Ferrara. As some scholars have recognised, Zoppino could very well have been a performer in Rome in his younger days and an esteemed publisher in later life. While this remains unresolved, Zoppino certainly was in partnership for at least a decade with a Vincenzo di Polo di Faenza, described as a book seller and ballad singer or *cantastorie* ("*bibliopola ac cantor circumforaneus*") in his 1524 testament. This was a strong bond. Vincenzo appointed Zoppino his heir, and a 1543 contract shows Zoppino working with

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Vincenzo's son Paolo. Looking at Zoppino, Baldacchini proposed that the years around the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the emergence of "a new figure of the publisher linked to the world of the ambulanti and cantastorie" who could act as "mediator between this world and that of the printers." As will be shown in the next chapter, Zoppino was not the only such mediating figure at the time. There were a number of printers in Venice who collaborated directly with travelling performers to produce cheap works.

The example of Zoppino, however, reminds us of the continued mobility of men in the print trade, and the "protean" nature of many who participated in it, particularly in the early decades of the Cinquecento. The movement of men into and out of Venice and into and out of various roles in the printing trade as well as other types of work was a characteristic and significant aspect of this vibrant period in the history of Venetian printing.

It has been speculated that those who moved between Venice and these other printing centres, such as the publisher Zoppino and the engraver and poligrafo Eustachio Celebrino<sup>67</sup>, might have acted as conduits for the movement of texts and images to be reused or reprinted. It is likely that performers and other small-time itinerant publishers also played this role. As noted above, performers frequently had the same works reprinted in various cities. The entrepreneurialism of itinerant performers may have played a significant role in transmitting new texts (as well as new fashions for performance) from place to place. In this way performers could continue to use their knowledge of audiences' interests, honed by live performance, to make themselves valued sources of material for printers, who were always seeking new content to entice readers.

As already will be evident, many itinerant publishers and performers chose a theatrical or flamboyant nickname to attempt to fix themselves in the memory of audiences and customers. Indications of physical disability, real or feigned, were among the most recurrent nicknames for working performers, particularly the blind, as in the cases of the cantastorie Francesco "il Cieco di Ferrara"<sup>68</sup> and

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<sup>67</sup> By 1511, Celebrino was working in Perugia in central Italy creating woodcuts to illustrate locally-produced printed books and correcting proofs for printers including Girolamo Cartolari and Cosimo Bianchino del Leone. By 1522, he had been attracted to Venice, the largest printing centre in Italy and Europe at the time. There, he provided woodcut illustrations for prolific printers such as Francesco Bindoni, Maffeo Pasini, Melchior Sessa and Niccolò Zoppino, who were driving the burgeoning production of cheap, vernacular print. His rather accomplished woodcuts ranged from examples of lettering for handwriting manuals to images of fantastical heroes and giants for chivalric tales.

<sup>68</sup> **FOSTER FRENCH, Reginald** (1937). The identity of Francesco Cieco da Ferrara. In: *Modern Language Association*, Vol. 52, N° 4 (Dec. 1937), pp. 992-1004.

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Cristoforo Scanello "il Cieco da Forli. " The nickname Zoppino, suggesting lameness, was used by a number of performers as well as by the publisher Nicole de' Rossi.

Rosa Salzberg also made a study of the biography of the engraver and polygraph Eustachio Celebrino. This is rather interesting since this artist had worked with Ludovico Vicentino d'arrighi. In 1528 Celebrino first published a long poem on the Sack of Rome that achieved great success, being reprinted numerous times in various cities.

We should remember the name of Zoppino in relationship with Ludovico Vincentio. Niccolò Zoppino had printing and publishing companies that were active in Venice, Ancona, and Perugia. Zoppino came from Ferrara and writers think that his partner Vincenzo di Paolo came from Vicenza, but as I have already mentioned, Rosa Salzberg used the name of Vincenzo di Paolo di Faenza, thus coming from Faenza.

In Venice they used the printing equipment of Giorgio Rusconi and Giacomo Penzio, in Perugia that of Girolamo Cartolari's. They also worked in partnership with the printer Rusconi. Zoppino spent a long time alone and in various cities. Vincenzo di Paolo, bookseller and storyteller worked under this name with Zoppino between 1514-1525. Vincenzo di Paolo is like Ludovico Vincentio the bookseller and both men disappeared.

Ludovico Vicentino wrote a book in the chancery cursive and woodblock printing<sup>69</sup> that he published in Rome. According to the scholars Arrighi took the blocks with him to Venice on a trip in 1527 and left them there; he subsequently had a fallout with his Roman partner Ugo da Carpi who had created a special type based on

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<sup>69</sup> **VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico** ('Vincentino'). (1522) *Operina di Ludovico Vicentino da imparare di scrivere littera cancelleresca*. **VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico** (1523) *Il modo da temperare le penne con le varie sorti de littere ordinato per Ludovico Vicentino*.



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Arrighi's design<sup>70</sup>. As a result subsequent Roman editions of Arrighi's writing manual were based on recut blocks by da Carpi, while the Venetian editions by Zoppino used the original blocks. Zoppino's editions were also the first to combine the *Operina* and *Il Modo*, but only the present second edition includes Arrighi's instructions for manufacturing fine ink.

Furthermore we detected more information about Ludovico Vicentino dealing an illustration 9 in the *Dizionario dei giochi con le parole*:

The letters are transformed into abstract figures as it pretends that they are drawn from the pen, but they are constructed with a ribbon, tree trunks, etc.

Figurative Alphabet. The letters are transformed into figures as they pretend to be formed from a tape.

Ludovico Vicenza, Venice 1533

Some authors suggested that Francisco Delicado was the author of a book that was traditionally attributed to Pietro Aretino: *Ragionamento del Zoppino fatto frate* (Venecia, 1539). We find the name of Zoppino (Zopín) in the book of *Lozana Andaluza* and as we know, Vincenzo di Paolo or Vicentio compagno worked years in Venice with the editor Nicolo d'Aristotle di Ferrara detto Zoppino<sup>71</sup>.

## Ludodico Vicentino Degli Arrighi's trip to Venice

Ludovico Degli Arrighi had to escape Rome and went to Venice in 1528, probably under the name of Francisco Delicado. There he worked with the books with which he was familiar and under two names: Francisco Delicado and Arrighi.

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<sup>70</sup> <http://www.iberlibro.com/buscar-libro/autor/calligraphy-arrighi-ludovico-degli/>

<sup>71</sup> **APOLLINAIRE, Guillaume** (1900) Dialogue du Zoppino. Devenu Frère, et Ludovico, putassier, où sont contennues la vie et la généalogie de toutes les courtisanes de Rome

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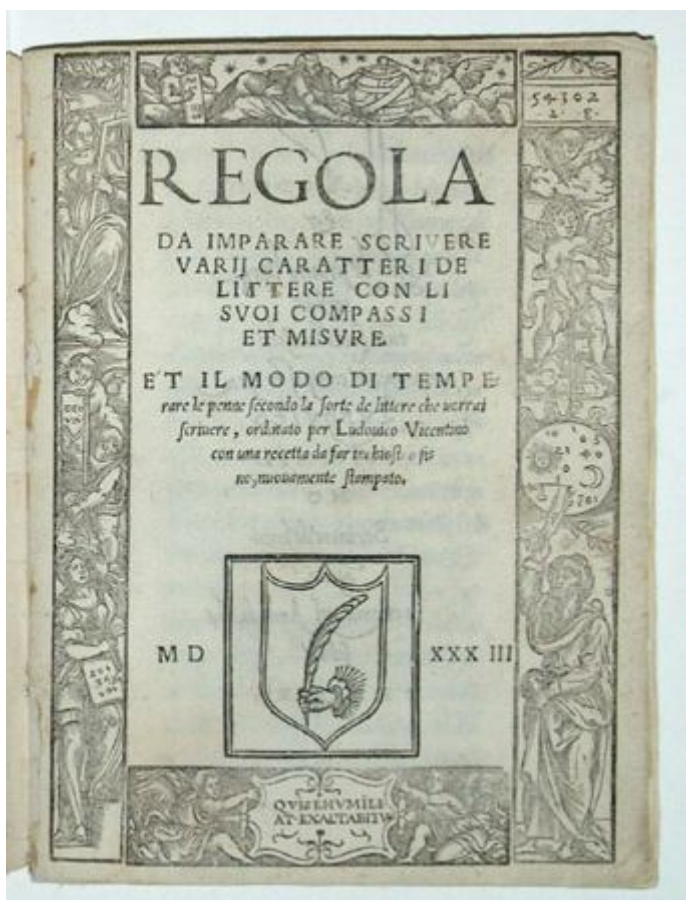
According to historians Arrighi took the blocks of his *Operina* and *Il Modo* with him to Venice on an earlier trip in 1527 and left them there; he subsequently had a fallout with his Roman partner Ugo da Carpi who had created a special type based on Arrighi's design. As a result subsequent Roman editions of Arrighi's writing manual were based on recut blocks by da Carpi, while the Venetian editions by Zoppino used the original blocks. Zoppino's editions were also the first to combine the *Operina*, and *Il Modo*, but only the present second edition includes Arrighi's instructions on manufacturing fine ink.

"If we compare the contents of Arrighi's *Operina* and *Il Modo* with those of Tagliente's *Lo presente libro*, we can detect some important difference beneath the general similarity. Arrighi's books are better presented and bear the stamp of a professional typographer; Arrighi has a higher proportion of white alphabets against a black background, an indication of Celebrino's collaboration, and his selection of models reveals the natural bias of a scribe trained in book hands and ecclesiastical work. He is thinking more of the Church than of the Foreign Office or Stock Exchange. In other words his manuals are cast in the mould of Rome rather than Venice<sup>72</sup>."

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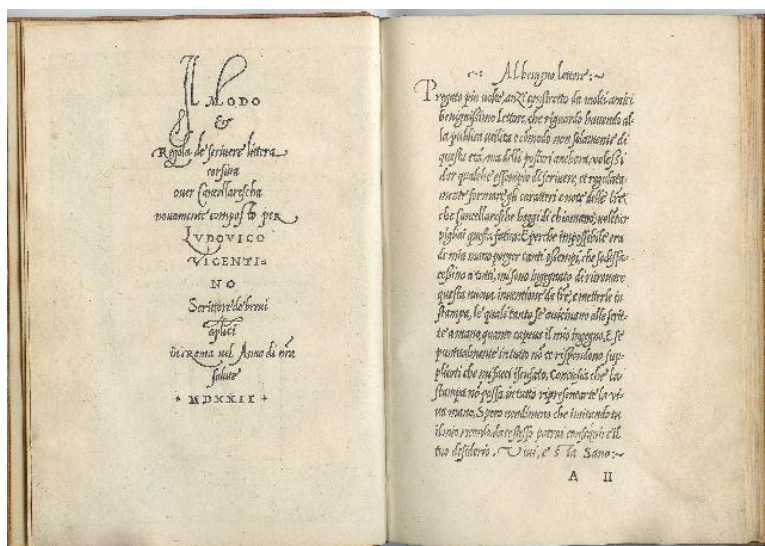
<sup>72</sup> OSLEY, A.S. (1980) *Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century*, Boston, p. 34

[CALLIGRAPHY] ARRIGHI, Ludovico degli. *Regola da imparare scrivere varii caratteri de lettere con li suoi compassi et misure: et il modo di temperare le penne secondo la sorte de lettere che vorrai scrivere.* Venice, Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1533. (<https://www.martayanlan.com>).



Et il modo di temperare le penne secondo la sorte de lettere che vorrai scrivere.  
(1533, Ludovico degli Arrighi).

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Vicentino Ludovico degli Arrighi, The second edition of an early writing manual, Venice: (Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino), 1533  
(<http://guity-novin.blogspot.com.es/2012/04/modern-newspaper-magazine-layouts.html>)

## CHAPTER V

### Contacts of Ludovico Vicentino

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi started working in Ferrara and possibly in Venice too. He became well acquainted with modern printing techniques. Thanks to his father's contact in Italy and his money Ludovico Vicentino could move in the same social sphere and had contacts on the highest level. In this chapter we describe the contacts he had.

#### **The contacts of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (alias Francesch Vicent, Lucena and Francisco Delicado)**

Nº	Year	Name	Place
		Aretino, Pietro	
	1505	Ariosto, Alfonso	Ferrara
	1505	Ariosto, Ludovico	Ferrara
	1505	Aristotile de' Rossi, Nicola de of Ferrara – Il Zoppino	Ferrara
	1517	Badius Ascensius, Jodocus	
		Barbato, Angelo	
		Bellucci, Filippo	
	1505	Bembo, Pietro	Ferrara
		Blado, Antonio	Roma
		Borgia, Girolamo	
	1505	Borgia, Lucretia	Ferrara
		Calcagnini, Celio	Ferrara
	1522	Carpi, Ugo da	Rome
		Casali, Battista	
		Castiglione, Baldassare	Urbino
		Cattani da Diacceto, Francesco	Obispo
		Caviceo, Jacopo	
		Celebrino, Eustachio	
		Chachi, Joannes	Rome
		Chalôn, Philibert de	

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		Ciocchi del Monte, Giovanni Maria	Pope 1550
	1494	Collenuccio, Pandolfo	Ferrara
	1508	Colonna, Vittoria	
		Cordoba, Luis de (Duca di Sessa)	
		Corsi, Pietro	
	1512	Damian, Pedro	Rome
		Dassy, François	France
	1525	Delicado, Francisco	Rome
		DeLucia, David	
		Ebreo, Leone	Rome
	1505	Este, Alfonso de	Ferrara
	1505	Este, Isabel de	Mantua
		Fabio Calvo, Marco	Rome
	1505	Feltria de Campofregoso, Agnesina	Urbino
	1505	Feltria de Campofregoso, Gentile	Urbino
		Ferreri, Zaccaria (Ferreri Vicent, Zachariae)	
		Firenzuola, Agnolo	
		Franci, Adriano (see Tolomei, Claudio)	Obispo
	1505	Fregoso, Federico	Urbino
	1505	Fregoso, Ottavino	Urbino
		Fuscano, Giovan Berardino	Venice Naples
		Giovio, Paulo	Rome
		Gritti, Andrea	Venice
		Hernández Alemán, Alonso	
		Lopez de Carvajal, Bernardino	Rome
		Lucena – MS Göttingen	
		Machiavelli, Niccolo	
	1505	Manfredi, Lelio	Ferrara
		Manutius, Aldus	Venice
		Marcello, Cristoforo	Arzobispo
		Medici, Giovanni di Lorenzo Pope Leo X (1513-1521)	Rome
		Medici, Giulio di Giuliano de' Pope Clement VII (1523-1534)	Rome
		Medici, Lorenzo de	
	1502?- 1511	Meo de Rotelli, Lautizio di	Perugia
	1505	Milano, Matteo di	Ferrara
		Navagero, Andrea	Venice
		Philomusa, Giovanni Francesco	

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	1504-1505	Ordoñez, Alfonso	Rome
		Pacioli, Luca	
		Palladio, Blosio	
		Ramirez de Lucena, Juan	
		Rovere, Giuliano della Pope Julius II (1503-1513)	
	1497-1499	Rojas, Fernando de	
	1520	Salamanca, Antonio de	Spain
	1502-1504	Sanzio, Rafaello	Perugia
		Sauermann, Georg (Sauromanus, Georgius)	
		Savoy, Louise de	
		Silber, Eucharius	
		Silvanus, C. (Germanicus)	
		Tagliente, Giovanni Antonio	
		Tolomei, Claudio (see Adriano, Franci)	
		Trissino, Gian Giorgio	(Poet)
	1517	Torres Naharro, Bartolomeo	
		Valentinois, Louise (Borgia, Louise)	
		Valle, Bartolomeo Della	Rome
	1494	Vicent, Francesc (Lucena)	Segorbe
		Vitale, Giano (Iani Vitalis Panhormitani)	

## ARETINO, PIETRO

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed various books for Pietro Aretino in Rome. So they knew each other quite well. Apollinaire suggested that Francisco Delicado was the author of a book that was traditionally attributed to Pietro Aretino: *Ragionamento del Zoppino fatto frate* (Venecia, 1539).

Cruz Cassada<sup>73</sup> saw the first part of the *Ragionamenti* of M. Pietro Aretino in 1584 without a place; in this work there is a dialogue that is usually omitted in Spanish translations, entitled

“Il piacevol Ragionamento de l'Aretino nel quale il Zoppino fatto trate, e Ludovico putaniere, trattano de la vita e de la genealogia di tutte le Cortigiane di Roma,” (p. 306).

Since Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (=Francisco Delicado) and Pietro Aretino knew each other well it is clear that thanks to this contact Aretino could write his *Ragionamento* in 1539.

We find the name of Zoppino (Zopín) in the book of *Lozana Andaluza*. As we know, Vincenzo di Paolo, also known as Vicentio compagno, worked for years with the editor Nicolo d'Aristotle di Ferrara detto Zoppino<sup>74</sup> in Venice.

Pietro de Aretino knew writings such as *Obras de burlas provocantes a risa*. Thanks to this knowledge he could write *Sonetos sobre los dieciséis modos*<sup>75</sup> in 1524. Aretino was aware of *La Celestina*<sup>76</sup>, and

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<sup>73</sup> CRUZ CASADA, Antonio (1992) *Auristela hechizada: Un caso de maleficia en el Persiles*. In: *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 12.2 (1992): 91-104

<sup>74</sup> APOLLINAIRE, Guillaume (1900) *Dialogue du Zoppino*. Devenu Frère, et Ludovico, putassier, où sont contennues la vie et la généalogie de toutes les courtisanes de Rome.

<sup>75</sup> ARETINO, Pietro; CABRERA, Sarandi; BAFFO, Giorgio (1991). *Sonetos lujuriosos & pasquines del aretino*. Vintén Editor. Montevideo.



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the books of *Amadis de Gaula*<sup>77</sup>, as already observed in his *Coloquio de las Damas*, published in Venice in 1534.



**Pietro Aretino**

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<sup>76</sup> **VÍAN HERRERO, Ana** (2003) El legado de “La Celestina” en el aretino español: Fernán Xuárez y su “Colloquio de las damas”. In: El mundo social y cultural de la Celestina: actas del Congreso Internacional de la Universidad de Navarra / coord.. por Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa, Ignacio Arellano, pp. 323-354

<sup>77</sup> **ARETINO, Pietro; XUÁREZ, Fernán; LLANAS AGUILANIEDO, J.M.** (1900) Coloquio de las Damas y la Cortesana del famoso y gran demostrador de vicios y virtudes Pedro Aretino. Madrid, B. Rodríguez serra, Editor, p. 13

## ARIOSTO, ALFONSO

Alfonso Ariosto (1475-1525) served the family of d'Este in Ferrara in the same place where Francesch Vicent was in 1505. Studying the book of Castiglione I have always had the idea that this author must have fixed himself on the distinctiveness of Lucena<sup>78</sup>. Did Castiglione<sup>79</sup> not say in his book: "*Spagnoli Guardate i, i quali maestri che siano della par Cortegiania?*" Without Lucena Castiglione could never have written his book. The Courtier's book was dedicated to Alfonso Ariosto (1475-1525) of Ferrara, a cousin of Ludovico Ariosto, since he had given the idea to Castiglione. Logically speaking, it was Alfonso Ariosto who was in contact with Francesch Vicent (Lucena) in Ferrara.

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<sup>78</sup> Notice that ample authors knew *Amadis de Gaula*. Castiglione in book III of his *Cortegiano* and Ariosto in his *Orlando furioso*. Cfr. **RAJNA, Pio** (1900) *Le fonti dell "Orlando furioso"*, Segunda edición, Firenze.

<sup>79</sup> **CASTIGLIONE, Baldassarre & BAUDI DI VESME, Carlo** (1854) *Il Cortegiano*. Firenze. Felice Le Monnier. Tomo I, p. 95.

## ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO

The Italian Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) talks in his *Orlando furioso* written in 1516 about Reinaldo de Montalban. The work was written in Ferrarese, the dialect used in Ferrara. It is possible that this Italian poet saw the work of *Trapesonda* (1513) thanks to the efforts of Francesch Vicent (Lucena). On the other hand Pio Rajna<sup>80</sup> observed the influence of the work *Amadis de Gaula* (1508) in the book of Ludovico Ariosto. Another book of the Lucena clan<sup>81</sup> that had influence on the work of Ariosto was the work of *Grisel y Mirabella*<sup>82</sup> and we see the hand of Francesch Vicent again.



Ludovico Ariosto

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<sup>80</sup> **RAJNA, Pio** (1876) *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso*

<sup>81</sup> Philologists should analyze the similarities between the texts of *Repeticion de amores* (Lucena, 1497) and the work of *Grisel and Mirabella*.

<sup>82</sup> **MATULKA, Barbara** (1974) *The novels of Juan de Flores and their European diffusion*. Slatkin Reprints, Genève, p. 189

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

On the other hand we cannot forget that Ludovico Ariosto presented his first comedy *The Cassaria* in Ferrara in 1508. Today he is considered one of the patriarchs of comedy<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> **VECCHIO, Laura M. del** (2002) *Archetypal Female Figures in the Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro and Other Renaissance Spanish and Italian Dramatists*. Doctoral thesis, State university of New York at Buffalo, p. 66

## ARISTOTILE DE ROSSI, NICOLA DE

### Nicolo d'Aristotile de' Rossi of Ferrara (Il Zoppino)

His dates of birth and death are unknown. It seems that he was born in the 1470s. An eminent example of printing is Nicolo d'Aristotile de' Rossi of Ferrara nicknamed "il Zoppino" (the little cripple). Zoppino was an itinerant publisher in the early years of his career, commissioning works in Bologna (1503), Milan (1504), Pesaro (ca. 1510), Ancona (1514), and Perugia (1524-25). The identification of Zoppino as a performer originally was prompted by the appearance of a charlatan/ballad singer character called Zoppino in several works by Pietro Aretino. Zoppino certainly was in partnership for at least a decade with a Vincenzo di Polo di Faenza, described as a book seller and ballad singer or cantastorie ("bibliopola ac cantor circumforaneus") in his 1524 testament<sup>84</sup>.

Furthermore, in a letter of 1527, the Ferrarese humanist Celio Calcagnini -lauded the delightful singing and storytelling of Zoppino, to whom he had likely listened in these years in Ferrara<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> **SALBERG, Rosa** (2008). From printshop to Piazza: The dissemination of cheap print in sixteenth-century Venice. A dissertation submitted to the department of history in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Queen Mary College, the university of London.

<sup>85</sup> **CALCAGNINI, Celio** (1544). *Opera aliquo*. Basel: Hieronimus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopus, p. 133. Quoted in **ROSPACHER, Massimo** (2014). In *Vituperium States Veneti: The case of Niccolò Zoppino*. In: *The Italianist*, 34-3, pp. 349-361.

## BADIUS ASCENSIUS, JODOCUS

Jodocus Badius Ascensius 1462–1535 was a pioneer of the printing industry. He was born in the village of Asse (formerly Assche) near Brussels in Flemish Brabant in AD 1462. He was a scholar of considerable repute, studying in Brussels and Ferrara and teaching Greek for several years at Lyon, France. During the years 1492–1498, while in Lyon, he began working as a proofreader and editor for the printer Jean Trechsel.

In 1499 Badius moved to Paris where, four years later, he established his own press, the famous *Relum Ascensianum*.

The author Bartolomé Torres Naharro had two letters in his book. So we appreciate a letter from Mesinierus I. Barberius Aurelianensis addressed to Jodocus Badius Ascensius, a famous humanist and printer of Paris<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> GILLET, Joseph (1943) Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro. Edición de Joseph E. Gillet, 3 vols., volume I, p. 144-145

## BARBATO, ANGELO

Nothing is known of this personage who apparently lived in Rome at the time of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi. He translated Greek works into Latin in Italy and so we see the following work appear in the printing house of Arrighi:

*\*[LIBANIUS] Aliquot declamatiunculae et orationes è Greco in Latinum versae quarum tituli infrascripti. Libanii Libellus de malis paupertatis, Angelo Barbato interprete... Libanij Iustitiae laudatio facta latina è proposito themate a magnifico Hippolyto Medice... Libanij Libellus de malis diuitiarum Angelo Barbato interprete... Plutarchi De exilio libellus Angelo Barbato interprete... Libanij Fabellae tres è proposito themate in lati num versae a magnifico Hippolyto Medice... [Romae, apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Peruginum, 1525 die XIII Ianuarij]*

## BELLUCCI, FILIPPO

The poet Filippo Bellucci from San Marino is best known for having described a hexametric verse about the journey (*Itinerarium*) taken by Cardinal Antonio Del Upstream to the Holy House of Loreto. He also dedicated a sonnet to Sanseverino on the occasion of accompanying Cardinal Ascanio Parisani, where he was commendatory abbot of the monastery of San Lorenzo in Doliolo (1531-1545). In his verses he remembers the prepared spectacles for the visit of the illustrious prelate and the magnificent beauty and fruitfulness of this city rich in wheat, wine, and oil:

Proxima Septipeda magnis extracta ruinis,  
Sacra Severino tellus, foecundaque gleba  
Ubere, Picenis colitur ditissima campis.  
Alma Ceres, Bacchusque Pater, pinguisque Minerva  
Et Cytherea Parens sedem hic posuere benignam,  
Perpetuamque domum<sup>87</sup>.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed the following work:

FILIPPO BELLUCCI] *Itinerarium Philippi Bellucii* [Romae, per Ludouicum Henricum Vicentinum impressum nec sine priuilegio ut in caeteris]

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<sup>87</sup> The sonnet Bellucci is reported by O. Civalli, *Visita Triennial*, in G. Colucci, *Antichità Picene*, volume XXV, Fermo 1795, p. 45.



## BEMBO, PIETRO

### Pietro Bembo in connection with Ferrara

It was not easy to prepare my four books about *La Celestina* between 2006 and 2009. On several occasions and over many nights I had long phone calls with my friend Jose Antonio Garzón Roger. However, Garzón could not justify my suspicion that Francesch Vicent could be the son of Juan Ramirez de Lucena. With this fact of Spain's greatest chess historian against me I had to consider several times whether it would be worthwhile to keep looking for children of the protonotary. If I did so, it was because I thought about the words of my other friend, Professor Juan Torres Fontes, who had so many difficulties with the completion of his doctoral thesis in the forties, and I learned the absolute obligation from him - what he often said to me: "to facilitate with documents the full potential research". Consequently I had to continue because research is like that. The more I studied the life of Francesch Vincent and Juan del Encina, the more I realized that the book of Castiglione "The Cortesano", translated by Juan Boscan, and whose texts were written at the beginning of 1507, was not a coincidence. Probably two Spanish authors were in the service of Borgia: Juan del Encina in the service of César Borgia, and Francesch Vincent in the service of Lucrecia Borgia, wife of the Duke Alfonso del Este.

Baldasare Castiglione's book *The Cortesano*, translated by Juan Boscan in 1534, and whose texts Castiglione started to write at the beginning of 1507, was no coincidence. This was due to the presence of several Spanish courtiers.

The circle could be closed when we realize that there were many personas in connection with the court of d'Este. Baldassare Castiglione wrote his work when he was in the service of the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo of Montefeltro who was married to Isabel Gonzaga. Precisely Elizabeth Gonzaga had a brother Francisco who

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

was married to Isabella d'Este. In the court of Urbino we find Pietro Bembo, the platonic lover of Lucrezia Borgia. Then we have Emilia Pio, the widow of Antonio de Montefeltro. Furthermore Federico Fregoso, Ottaviano Fregoso, and Constance Fregoso, sons of Gentile da Montefeltro (Gentile Feltria of Campo Fregoso). She was the widow of Agostino Fregoso and financed the Italian version of *La Celestina*.

Lucrezia Borgia's relations with the house of Urbino were very friendly. At first, with Guidobaldo of Montefeltro and after his death with his successor Francesco Maria della Rovere, son of Elizabeth Gonzaga. The princes of both houses visited Lucrecia frequently. The personas who maintained a steady contact with Lucrecia were Baldassare Castiglione, Ottaviano Fregoso, Aldus Manutius, and Pietro Bembo. Francesch Vicent, with the pseudonym of Francesco and the chess teacher of Lucrezia Borgia thus came into contact with all the personas of the house of Urbino.

This latest exposure is an important fact, because we know that Erasmo became financial help from Aldus Manutius.

In 1506 Erasmus traveled to Italy. Erasmus polished his Greek in Italy and formed a relationship with the printing house of Aldus Manutius in Venice, the first link to publishing his writings that secured his financial and professional independence. There Erasmus must have learned of the work of *La Celestina* written by an Aragonese writer. Luis Vives had a personal relationship with Erasmus in Lovaina between 1517 and 1521. It must have been at this time that Erasmus spoke about the Aragonese Francesco being the chess master of Lucrecia Borgia and the author of *La Celestina*. As we know from the research of the Italian Alessandro Sanvito, Francesch Vicent did not use his complete name in Ferrara. He was only known as Francesco<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> **SANVITO, Allesandro** (1999) Il maestro discacchi spagnolo di Lucrecia Borgia. In: *L'Italia Scacchistica*, N°. 1131, pp. 392-393

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**Pietro Bembo painted by Raphael (1506)**

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Due to this personal contact with Erasmus Luis Vives could state in his book of 1531 that La Celestina<sup>89</sup> was written by an Aragonese author. In the literature researchers speak about Ludovico Degli Arrighi of Venice. He was known as Vicentino and probably learned the work of a calligrapher from Pietro Bembo. On the other hand it is quite possible that he was working in the printing house of Aldus Manutius. Calligraphy-inspired typefaces were first designed in Italy to replace documents traditionally written in a handwriting style called chancery hand. Ludovico Arrighi and Aldus Manutius (both between the 15th and 16th centuries) were the main type designers involved in this process at the time.

Martin Antonetti<sup>90</sup>, curator for Smith's Mortimer Rare Book Collection, found an oblique reference to the manuscript in a linguistics journal. There was a relationship between Pietro Bembo and Ludovico Vicentino and Antonetti realized how very little he knew about the life of Vicentino.

Ludovico degli Arrighi, also called Vicentino, was born to a poor family in a world where good positions required money and influence. A young man with a fine hand might aspire to the position of papal scriptor, a transcriber of administrative briefs and papal bulls, but it required a wealthy relative or patron to put up the 1200 ducats to purchase the position in the papal chancery. While the job would not make you wealthy, you could advance to the papal Curia's upper echelons, connected to every sphere of wealth and power.

In addition to work in the Curia, Arrighi did what we would call freelance work as a professional calligrapher. From 1515 to 1525, he worked with some of the finest illuminators to create magnificent presentation manuscripts for

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<sup>89</sup> Joannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de disciplinis libri XX.: Excudebat Antverpiæ Michael Hillenius in Rapo, 1531; [T.I] de corruptis artibus liber primus [-septimus]. [T. II] de tradendis disciplina sev de institutione Christiana liber primus. [T. III] De prima philosophia siue de intimo naturae opificio liber primus [-octavus] (Juan Luis Vives: Amberes: Michael Hillenius, 1531, folio 30.

<sup>90</sup> <http://www.smith.edu/insight/stories/renaissance.php> By Carole Fuller / NewsSmith, Fall 2008

**ANTONETTI, Martin** (2011) New Clues to the Early Life of Arrighi: Ludovico Degli Arrighi's 'bellissimo *Canzoniere*' for Bartolomeo della Valle (1508)," *The Book Collector* (Winter 2011).

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wealthy clients, many of whom were cardinals. He produced two seminal manuals on writing, followed in 1524-27 by a series of small, beautifully printed books using type based on his own elegant hand. And then he vanished, probably one of thousands of victims in the months-long reign of terror that was the Sack of Rome in 1527. Of the works he produced, only a handful have survived. Of these, only two are actually signed by Arrighi the scribe; Antonetti's discovery adds a precious third.

As he cataloged the collection of Italian Renaissance books acquired by Ruth Mortimer for the rare book collection before she died in 1994, Antonetti had many puzzling questions. How did Arrighi, an unknown youth from the provinces, obtain his position in the papal Curia? How did he enter a network that allowed him to publish for some of the most powerful people in Rome? Where did he perfect his skills? What happened to the manuscript that Cardinal Bembo borrowed — and undoubtedly returned — in the summer of 1511, before it surfaced in 1608 in the estate of Juan Fernandez de Velasco? When did Arrighi actually begin his work in Rome?

Finally it was discovered that the experts doubt the real life of the mysterious Ludovico Vicentino. With regards to the manuscript that they studied in Madrid<sup>91</sup> the results were more than interesting:

The manuscript had been missing since 1511 when Italian scholar Pietro Bembo borrowed it for summer reading. In 1608, it appeared in the personal property of Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Duke of Frias and governor of Milan in the late 1500s. In 1736, it was placed in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional. There it sat, unknown to bibliographical scholars until now — the "Madrid Petrarch" manuscript, a tantalizing hidden clue to the mysterious life of Ludovico degli Arrighi, Vatican copyist and Renaissance type designer, friend and collaborator of Raphael's<sup>92</sup>, and master of chancery cursive script.

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<sup>91</sup> See: **HERNÁNDEZ ESTEBAN, Maria & LÓPEZ SUÁREZ, Mercedes** (0000) *La recepción del Petrarquismo en España a través de los comentaristas: hipótesis de trabajo*. In: Cuadernos de Filología Italiana, Número Extraordinario, pp. 71-83. Citation on p. 76

<sup>92</sup> **CLOUGH, Cecil H.** (1974). Ludovico degli Arrighi and Raphael. In: The Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting LXXIX, pp. 13-16.

**RAFFAELO** (1994). Gli scritti. Lettere, firme, sonetti, saggi tecnici e teorici. A cura di Ettore Camesasca con la collaborazione di Giovanni M. Piazza. Milán. Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1994, pp. 257-276

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

Interesting to see that the assistant of Martin Antonetti, researcher “Zoe Mindell '08”, still came with more interesting details after a visit to Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional:

"The illuminated manuscript was pristine, dated 1508. I pored over each folio, taking copious notes on content and appearance. As I admired a particular illumination, I noticed a series of golden letters interwoven in the marginal decoration: BART DE VAL. It wasn't until I reported on my findings to Martin that we realized the significance of my observation. Martin suggested that Bartolomeo della Valle, not his brother Cardinal Andrea della Valle, had commissioned the manuscript. That changed the provenance of the piece."

The lively dialogue between the personages reflects the new vitality of the Renaissance rather than the dry rhetorical dialogues of the Middle Ages. It places much emphasis on grace, harmony, and beauty of language. The care devoted to creating a setting for the work, which is a result of considering the book as a work of art and not merely as a means of presenting an argument, is again typical of Italian Renaissance treatises.

It is really amazing to see the great quantity of studies about Ludovico Vicentino done by Martin Antonetti<sup>93</sup>. What is the connection between

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<sup>93</sup> **ANTONETTI, Martin** (2009) *Ludovico Degli Arrighi: More of What We Still Don't Know*, at the Society of Printers, Boston, February 2009

**ANTONETTI, Martin** (2008) *Arrighi's 'New Invention of Letters: Scribes, Printers and Patrons in Renaissance Rome*, the 27th Susan Garretson Swartzburg Lecture, Wells College, East Aurora, New York, April 2008

**ANTONETTI, Martin** (2007) *New Light on the Early Career of Ludovico Degli Arrighi*, at the conference *Transformations: The Persistence of Aldus Manutius*, University of California, Los Angeles, October 2007

**ANTONETTI, Martin** (2005) *Ludovico Degli Arrighi and His Coryciana of 1524: A Bittersweet Tale of Humanists, Popes, and Printers in Renaissance Rome*, at Smith College (Liberal Arts Luncheon), October 2005

**ANTONETTI, Martin** (2004) *'Questa nuova invention de littere: Arrighi and the Curialists in Renaissance Rome*, the 87th George Parker Winship Lecture at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, December 2004

**ANTONETTI, Martin** (2002) *The Arrighi Chancery Italic Type: Popes and Printers in Renaissance Rome*, Massachusetts Center for Renaissance Studies Newsletter (Fall 2002)

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Ludovico Vicentino and the book of Petrarch? The texts of Petrarch were used from the second scene in *La Celestina* in the whole work.



The Madrid Petrarch of 1508 with Arrighi's chancery cursive script and Bartolomeo della Valle's coat of arms in the bottom margin with Arrighi's chancery cursive script

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

From whom could Il Vicentino have learned his job as a professional calligrapher? Probably from his connections with Pietro Bembo and earlier printers. Bembo, this writer, scholar, and collector was among the most eminent and influential literary men of the sixteenth century. He served as secretary to Pope Leo X (1513-1521) and in 1539 became a cardinal. His elegant Ciceronian Latin set the standard for learned and diplomatic correspondence throughout Europe. His autograph letters, such as the one on display, provide a good sample of chancery italic, a script developed by Roman humanists in the late fifteenth century from the humanist cursive minuscule invented by the Florentine humanist Niccolo Niccoli in the 1420s.

Finishing a chapter in 2008 the songbook of London (Cancionero de Londres) LB1 came into my possession. Manuel Moreno of the University of Liverpool was kind enough to provide me with one. Reading it spurred the idea that if Hernando del Castillo is not Juan del Encina, then something of Italy ought to be in the general songbook of 1511. Thus through researching in this vein seven poems were found in connection with Pietro Bembo in the general songbook<sup>94</sup>. These seven poems form part of the eleven pieces that Bembo copied after the famous letters of Lucretia Borgia addressed to him and which form the manuscript of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan<sup>95</sup>. Gonzalez Cuenca reads as follows<sup>96</sup>:

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<sup>94</sup> **CASTILLO, Hernando de** (2004) *Cancionero General*. 5 tomos. Tomo I. Edición de Joaquín González Cuenca. Editorial Castalia, p. 27. It deals with the following seven poems, numbers 225/1, 282, 284, 286, 371, 566/3 and 742 of this edition

<sup>95</sup> **RAJNA, Pio** (1925) *Versi spagnuoli di mano di Pietro Bembo e di Lucrecia Borgia serbati da un códice ambrosiano*. In: Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal. Miscelánea de estudios lingüísticos, literarios e históricos, Madrid. Librería y Editorial Hernando, 2, pp. 299-321

**MAZZOCCHI, Giuseppe** (1989) *Un manoscritto milanese* (Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P.II.100) e l'ispanismo del Bembo. In: Cancioneros spagnuoli a Milano (ed. G. Caravaggi), Firenze, La Nuova Italia Editrice, pp. 67-100

<sup>96</sup> **CASTILLO, Hernando de** (2004) *Cancionero General*. 5 tomos. Tomo I. Edición de Joaquín González Cuenca. Editorial Castalia, p. 27



In the spring of 1503 Pietro Bembo and Lucrezia Borgia were embroiled in a card and love game, according to the use of that time - a story that Raboni Giulia described as "la grande fiamma". The manuscript of the Ambrosiana's Library in Milan covers nine cards of the beautiful Duchess of humanistic Ferrara. She copied a fragment of a poem by Lope de Estúñiga, which begins: *If my sad thoughts*. After the letters Bembo also copied in his handwriting a short Castilian songbook of eleven pieces, of which seven are an integral part of the songbook that Hernando del Castillo would put into print nine years later.

The manuscript 990 of the Trivulzian Library transmits prosaic works of Juan de Flores (la Novela de Grisel y Mirabella) and Diego de San Pedro (el Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda), apart from the poetic texts of the Marquis of Santillana, Diego de Burgos, and Costana. On the other hand the manuscript Ms. S.P. II. 100 of the Ambrosian Library has various anonymous couplets or couplets of the authors, such as Juan Álvarez Gato and Cartagena. These couplets were recollected by Pietro Bembo to please Lucrecia Borgia<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> **MAZZOCCHI, Giuseppe** (1988) *Un manoscritto milanese* (Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P.II.100) e l'ispanismo del Bembo. In: Cancioneros spagnoli a Milano, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1, pp. 67-101

**MANERA, Anna** (1988) *I testi spagnoli nel codice 1001 della Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano*. In: Cancioneros spagnoli a Milano, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1, pp. 101-232

**MORELLI, Gabriele** (2005) *Esperienze e relazioni letterarie di Alfonso d'Ávalos, governatore di Milano*, pp. 233-260

**DANZI, Massimo** (2005) *La biblioteca del Cardenal Pietro Bembo*, Genève, Librairie Droz.

**BALDISSERA, Andrea & MAZZOCCHI, Giuseppe** (2005) *Il Canzoniere di Lucrezia*, Padova, Unpress

Works cited by **ZINATO, Andrea** (2014) *Del cancionero de corte al canionero burgués: El caso de Nápoles*, Milán y Venecia. In: Revista de poética medieval, 28, pp. 393-412. Citation on p. 400

## BLADO, ANTONIO

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi also had a type of business collaboration with Antonio Blado, who was not a punchcutter or designer of type. He worked as a printer at the Papal Chancery in Rome, replacing the scribes' individual documents with printed editions. He used the types cut by Arrighi, a professional calligrapher who became a creative punchcutter. It is furthermore stated that Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi came from the same country as Blado and that there might have been a family connection. At any rate, Lucena seems to have taught writing in Venice and then moved on to Rome<sup>98</sup>.

There were probably some problems between Ludovico Vicentino and the higher officials of the papal court, since in 1525 Clement VII withdrew Arrighi's privilege for *la Operina* and transferred it to the wood engraver Ugo da Carpi. Strangely enough, Carpi brought out both books of Arrighi's handwriting under his name without mentioning him and without indicating the place and printer<sup>99</sup>.

Antonio Blado printed the chess book of Peter Damian in 1524 and was involved in the tricky printing of *La Celestina (Tragicomedia)* in 1520, which bears the year 1502 and was destined for Antonio de Salamanca who was an editor in Rome.

The anonyme author in the style of Francisco Delicado was complaining about other printers.

«que avn los impressores han dado sus punturas, poniendo rúbricas o sumarios al principio de cada aucto , narrando en breue lo que dentro

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<sup>98</sup> MORISON, Stanley (1981) *Selected Essays on the History of Letter Forms in Manuscript and Print*, p. 107

<sup>99</sup> MORISON, Stanley & McKITTERICK, David John (2009) *Selected Essays on the History of Letter Forms in Manuscripts and Prints*. Cambridge University Press, p. 107

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contenía: vna cosa bien escusada, segun lo que los antiguos scriptores vsaron».

One of the characteristics of the anonym author is that he was a perfectionist.

There was a very good understanding between the anonymous editor of *La Celestina* in 1520 and the anonymous writer of the chess book of Peter Damian in 1524. This could only be possible if the anonymous writer had a very high position in the papal court. Antonio Blado (1490-1567) wanted to work for the papal court and needed a good relationship with influential people of the court. Arrighi belonged to them. Antonio Blado finally succeeded working in the papal court in 1535 and was the official papal printer till his death in 1567. Thanks to José Antonio Garzón Roger's research we know today that the book of Peter Damian was in reality written by Francesch Vicent.

The artistic personality of Ludovico Vicentino had affected many printers including Antonio Blado, whose hands, according to some, would have received the types of Vicentino after the sack of Rome in 1527.

Arrighi had a certain (though not very clear) relation with Antonio Blado. According to Fumagalli his *Il Modo & Regola de scriuere littera corsina ouer Cancellerescha* (Rome, 1522) was printed by Blado<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup> MORISON, Stanley (1981). Selected essays on the history of Letter-Forms in Manuscripts and Print, p. 107.

## BORGIA, GIROLAMO

**Girolamo Borgia** (1475 – 1550) was an Italian humanist and historian.

He was born in what is now the region of Basilicata in the town of Senise. His family may or may not have been related to the clan of Pope Alexander VI Borgia, but in any case the two Borgia families had little to do with each other. Girolamo Borgia moved to Naples as a young man and joined the intellectual circle led by Giovanni Pontano. After Pontano's death in 1503 Borgia attached himself to a very different benefactor, the *condottiero* Bartolomeo d'Alviano. He also took the opportunity to learn Greek in Padua and to attend informal "Accademia Liviana" discussions in Pordenone between 1508 and 1509. Upon Alviano's death in 1515 Borgia again returned south, living between Naples and Rome. After 1515 Borgia became cleric. All his surviving works are in Latin.

Writers such as Girolamo Borgia (1475-1550) and Leandro Alberti, who were associated with the Church, took the lead in writing about Italian history, and put forth narratives of the peninsula's past that in various ways emphasized a fallen Italia that could yet be redeemed by the institution of the papacy<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>101</sup> **POLICELLI, Robert Aidan** (2010) *Italia Nova: Renaissance Historians and the Framing and Reframing of Italian History*, dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophy in the Department of History

## BORGIA, LUCRETIA

### 1505 Poem to Lucrecia Borgia

As we know Francesch Vicent (Lucena) was as chessmaster in the service of Lucrecia Borgia. As we know, Francesch Vicent (Lucena) was chessmaster in the service of Lucrecia Borgia. One investigation of the book *Arnalte y Lucenda* by Keith Whinnom, could expose a very suspicious connection with Lucena, who should have known Lucrecia Borgia around 1505. Whinnom<sup>102</sup> observes the following in relation to Lucrecia Borgia in Ferrara:

In addition there was another edition of the novel previous to 1522, as can be proven by a handwritten poem dating back to 1505 in praise of Lucrezia Borgia; copied from the poetry by (Diego de) San Pedro in praise of Isabel the Catholic and adapted only on the most important parts ("Ferrara" changed to "Castilla" etc.), the poetry to Lucrezia exhibits variants that match the version of the panegyric at *Arnalte* of 1522 and contrast to the readings of 1491, so one would think that there was a printed edition in 1500 (?). It is clear that these subsequent editions do not come directly from the 1491 edition and I do not think that it explains all the differences in the hypothesis derived from any edition preceding the one of 1491 or the manuscript itself. In the 1522 edition the *Seven Sorrows of Our Lady* have been deleted —perhaps it would be better to say that they were not added; and if they were removed, the immediate context, prose, was changed so its absence is not noticed. The text of 1522 is modified and amended so that we would better have to think about the intervention of a printer that made the changes independently and would correct the errors in the light of the original text, printed or as a manuscript, or, as I (perhaps rashly) suggested elsewhere, in the personal intervention of the author in an earlier edition lost.

This matter is fully described in our book about the wanderings of Lucena<sup>103</sup> in Spain and Italy.

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<sup>102</sup> WHINNON, Keith (1985) *Diego de San Pedro. Obras Completas, I. Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda. Sermón. Clásicos Castalia*, Madrid. Págs. 44 y 45

<sup>103</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (In press). The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of *La Celestina* Throughout His Life.



**Lucretia Borgia**

## BORGIA, CESARE

Caesar Borgia was given the title of gonfalonier of the Church in 1500 and on October 2 he left with his army of Rome surrounded by his counsel and complete civil house, including his cousin Francisco Loriz, bishop of Elne. The latter would be the protector of Juan de Encina. Many poets and artists have joined the army of Caesar Borgia, Encina among them. His presence transforms the military expedition of Caesar in a friendly displacement of the Court. Some of these poets and artists appear on the scene later in the famous *Book of the Courtier* written by Baldassare Castiglione<sup>104</sup>. Presumably Encina was by Cesare Borgia's side constantly. Even when he moved to Rome to be aware of the preparation of the wedding of his sister Lucrecia and the Duke Francisco of the East of Ferrara that took place in December 1501. According to Emma Scoles, there probably was a partial representation of the *Comedy of Calisto and Melibea* in the celebrations in Rome for the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia with Alonso d'Este<sup>105</sup>.

Fortuna precissima se dobbiamo dar fede alla notizia fornita da E. Alvisi<sup>106</sup> circa la rappresentazione della *Celestina* a Roma, nel 1502, durante i festeggiamenti per il matrimonio di Lucrezia Borgia con Alfonso d'Este: «il papa, il duca, i cardinali diedero rappresentazioni in onore degli ospiti - quelle egloghe o pastorali che allora alla corte di Spagna erano in gran voga - migliore di tutte la *Celestina* di Rodrigo da Cota che nel 1505 tradotta in italiano fu dedicata ad una nipote di Giulio II».

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<sup>104</sup> CLOULAS, Ivan (2003) *Los Borgias: Fama e infamia en el renacimiento*, p. 214

<sup>105</sup> SCOLES, Emma (1961) *Note sulla prima traduzione italiana della Celestina*. In: Studi Romanzi, XXIII, págs. 155-217. Citation on pp. 158-159

<sup>106</sup> ALVISI, E. (1878). Cesare Borgia duca di Romagna, Imola, p. 235. Citado por SCOLES, Emma (1961). *Note sulla prima traduzione italiana della Celestina*. In: Studi Romanzi, XXIII, págs. 155-217. Cita en págs. 158-159  
El sobrino del Papa Julio II era Francesco María della Rovere.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina



**Cesar Borgia**



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Encina confirmed in a document to have been under the orders of Cesare Borgia and that he was appointed as familiar of Alexander VI thanks to the influence of Cesare<sup>107</sup>. In the comedy *Soldadesca* we see that Bartolomé Torres Naharro has been serving Cesare Borgia when he says: "The good Duke Valentino had fun when I accompanied him." It seems that Torres Naharro was working for Cesare Borgia, Duke of Valentinois and Urbina, biological son of Pope Alexander VI, as we read in the comedy *Soldadesca*:

Desdichados  
Que por los nuestros peccados  
Se llevó Dios su camino  
Al padre de los soldados,  
El buen Duque Valentino.  
Que holgava  
Quando yo le acompañava  
Las noches más sin abrigo:  
Tanto de mí se preciava,  
Que sólo se yva conmigo.  
¡O, qué humano!  
¡Qué señor, qué cortesano,  
qué liberal y cortés!  
Me ponía en esta mano  
Veinte ducados al mes.

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<sup>107</sup> **SHERR, Richard** (1982) A note on the biography of Juan del Encina. In: Bulletin of the comediantes, 1982-34, pp. 159-172. Citation on p. 168

## **CALCAGNINI, CELIO**

### **Caelius Calcagninus (1479-1541)**

Caelius Calcagninus also known as Celio Calcagnini was an Italian humanist and scientist from Ferrara. Educated in Ferrara, after about ten years of service in the Ferrarese armies he returned to Ferrara en 1506<sup>108</sup> and was given the chair of Greek and Latin at the University of Ferrara in 1507 or 1509. He was admitted to the chancery of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1510. He had a major influence on Rabelais literary and linguistic ideas and is presumed to have met him in Italy and was praised by Erasmus. Calcagninus must have known the Spanish Jew Francesch Vicent, who showed the first diagrams of the draughts game at the beginning of the 16th century and was in the service of Lucrecia Borgia at the court of Ferrara.



**Celio Calcagnini ca. 1520**  
**Philadelphia Museum of Art. CC-BY-3.0 - Sailko**

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<sup>108</sup> **CALCAGNINI, Celio** (1544). *Opera aliquot*, Basel.

Calcagnini's treatise *Quomodo caelum stet, terra moveatur, vel de perenni motu terrae commentatio*, in which he held that the earth moved round the sun, anticipated Galileo Galilei by some years, for Galileo was not born until 1564. He was in 1509 called to the chair of Greek and Latin letters at the University of Ferrara, a position which he held for the rest of his life. In 1510 he entered the service of the Church, as canon of the cathedral of Ferrara and earned the rank of protonotary. Calcagnini earned in 1514 his doctorate in canon law, and his rhetorical skills and sophisticated which won him in 1517 the appointment of official historian of the Este court<sup>109</sup>. He was married with Marietta Strozzi.

Calcagninus was a good friend of Erasmus, Ludovico Ariosto, the painter Raphael<sup>110</sup> and Isabella D'este for whom he wrote poetry for the death of her dog Aura in 1507<sup>111</sup>. He met Erasmus in the house of Ricard Pace during his visit to Ferrara in December 1508. In October 1519 Calcagnini met Sanzio Raphael of Urbino in Rome and became interested in the studies of the great painter and his associate Marco Fabo Calvo on the topography of ancient Rome. So we see him in the

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<sup>109</sup> Studies on Calcagnini's biography and work include Ferrante Borsetti (as in n. 54), vol. 2, 115-22; Giannandrea Barotti, *Memorie storiche di letterati ferraresi* (Ferrara: Gli Eredi di Giuseppi Rinaldi, 1792), vol. 1, 287-306; Ernesto Piana, *Ricerche ed osservazioni sulla vita e sugli scritti di Celio Calcagnini umanista ferrarese del secolo XVI* (Rovigo: A. Conzatti, 1899); Alfonso Lazzari, "Un enciclopedia del sec. XVI: Celio Calcagnini," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria* 30 (1936): 83-164; DBI, vol. 16 (1973), s.v. "Calcagnini, Celio," 492-98; Claudio Moreschini, "Per una storia dell'umanesimo latino a Ferrara," in Castelli (as in n. 61), 168-88; and idem, "Aspetti dell'attività letteraria di Celio Calcagnini," in "In supreme dignitatis ..." *Per la storia dell'Università di Ferrara 1391-1991*, ed. Patrizia Castelli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 155-72. Works cited by: **FIorenza, Giancarlo** (2000). Dosso Dossi, Garofalo, and the Costabili Polyptych: Imaging Spiritual Authority. In: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 82, N°. 2, pp. 252-279.

<sup>110</sup> **SLIM, H. Colin** (1990). Dosso Dossi's Allegory at Florence about Music. In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 43-98.

<sup>111</sup> **PRIZER, William F.** (1999). Una "Virtù Molto Conveniente A Madonne": Isabella D'este as a Musician. In: *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 17, N°. 1, A Birthday Tableau for H. Colin Slim (Winter, 1999), pp. 10-49.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

same circle of scientists as that one of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi<sup>112</sup>.

The reader who studies a portion of the treatise *De Calculis* that bears the title *Ludo Calculario XII* will soon understand that the Greek and Latin professor Caelius Calcagninus describes the Alquerque game<sup>113</sup> (the precursor of draughts). In his time this game was known all over Western Europe. It was engraved in the choral benches and played in galleys. A popular Belgian Latin textbook for students even contained a drawing of the board. Maybe in the Netherlands this game bore the name ‘*twalfstecken*’. The reason that a highly educated man was engaged in this game was the idea that the strains came from the classical period and so it would have high quality. Here one had to think of the mysterious 5-line game mentioned by Julius Pollux and/or the Polis or City Game. (Also called Soldiers Game). The humanists Freigius, Raderus, and Senftlebius also thought that Calcagninus described the Alquerque game<sup>114</sup>. Ficoroni<sup>115</sup> gave an abbreviated Italian translation of the article by Calcagninus, in which is emphasized the position of the 10 pawns and two leaders. Most of this work we thank to Dr. Francesco Pratesi<sup>116</sup> who gives a short description and English translation of the work of Calcagnini:

This work is often quoted as one of the first descriptions clearly distinguishing between chess and *ludus latrunculorum*. Another merit may be the quotation of the game which we know as tangram: it came to Europe

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<sup>112</sup> **RIELLO VELASCO, José María** (2004). Sombra de un sueños. Alberti, Rafael y la política arqueológica del Papado entre dos siglos. In: *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 14, pp. 121-141.

<sup>113</sup> For complete information about the Alquerque-12 game one can consult:

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (2013). The History of Alquerque-12. Spain and France. Volume I. Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca.

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015). The History of Alquerque-12. Remaining countries. Volume II. Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca.

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (2016). The History of Alquerque-12. Texts of the Game. Volume III. Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca. In Press.

<sup>114</sup> **JANSEN, Rob** (1991) Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam, p. 4

<sup>115</sup> **FICORONI, F. DE** (1734) 1 tali ed altri strumenti lusori degli antichi Romani, Roma

<sup>116</sup> **PRATESI, Franco** (1993) Draughts Magazine *Hoofdlijn*, Amsterdam, pp. 32-34

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from China about two centuries ago, but evidently it was already known to classical civilisations. *Calcagnini's* language has lost the grace of classical Latin; moreover the text is affected by several printing errors. Thus the treatise has yet to be fully understood, at least in some parts.

<p><b>1.</b> Quae omnia in calculis diversa sunt, nam et lineae quinque XVI quadris, seu regiones vel urbes malis appellare, implentur.</p> <p><b>2.</b> Ad in ludo calculario XII ad summum manipulones, in duas decurias et praestites duos laterales centuriati, totam militiam exercent, in quibus tamen disciplinam explicandae aciei agnoscere. Siquidem in fronte iugati sunt ordines per quinarium numerum: altitudo autem triplici acie instructa est, ut cubitos occupet XII.</p> <p><b>3.</b> Expedito enim et ordinato militi cubita quatur tribuuntur. Quom vero farissa cubita XIII prortendatur, ita ut extremi ordinis vel (si lubet sic dixisse) triarii farissa non sit inutilis, quae cubitis duobus infesta in hostem exporrigatur.</p> <p><b>4.</b> Haec est imago illa militiae quam calculis expressam vovere, alioqui ei qui suo loco excessisset, praesto fuit poena, ut circurventus in manus</p>	<p><b>1.</b> (With respect to chess) all that is different and five lines form 16 squares, namely regions or cities, as you prefer to name them.</p> <p><b>2.</b> But in the boardgame of pebbles 12 soldiers to the top, ordered in two groups of ten and two lateral chiefs, exert all the army, and you can realise in them the art of deploying the military array. Indeed, in the front the orders are connected by number V: on the other hand the thickness is established by a triple array, so that it occupies 12 squares.</p> <p><b>3.</b> In fact, to a quick and ordered man 4 squares are assigned. Since however the <i>ferse</i> extends its action on 14 squares, so that the <i>ferse</i> of the outermost order or (if we may so say) the triple one will not be useless, it must be given to the enemy if attacked by two squares.</p> <p><b>4.</b> This is that image of the army which is represented by moving with pebbles. Otherwise to that which went out from its own place, abruptly a punishment</p>
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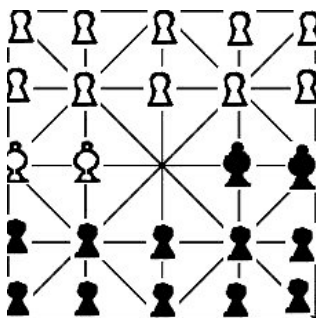
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<p>hostium perveniret: quod quom facile fiat, si latera agminis enudetur, ob id constitutum accepimus, ne quis de sacra linea, id est media decedat, cui laterales praestites praefecti sunt. Ea enim prodita tum caetera acies incursionibus hostium facile patet.</p> <p><b>5.</b> Ab eadem ratione militari deductum est, ut miles qui castra hostium penetrarit, et in arces evaserit, quasi murali corona donatus, virtutis ergo late impune pervagetur: nec nisi ter circumventus succubuisse iudicetur.</p> <p><b>6.</b> Illud praeterea hostimentum in utroque agmine servabatur: ut quasi collatis signis vir viro implexus confligeret: et quorum altera parte cornu pelleretur, altera hostem urgeret: ut ita in tota concertatione commutato victoriae ordine paria fierent (Calcagninus, 1544).</p>	<p>occurred, as it arrived surrounded in the hands of the enemies- a thing that easily would occur, if the flanks of the array had to be voided. Therefore, we consider ascertained that nobody should go out of the holy line, namely the middle one, to whom lateral officials are commanding. In fact, if it is abandoned then the remaining part of the array easily suffers the attacks of the enemy.</p> <p><b>5.</b> From the same military reason is derived that as a man enters the enemy camp and has access to the fortress, being awarded as if with a stone crown, it may wander about with impunity and may be considered to have been captured only if three times surrounded.</p> <p><b>6.</b> Moreover, in both arrays they followed this reciprocation: that with the signs brought together one fights man to man; and of them one is driven to the corner while the other will push the enemy; so that in the whole struggle by changing the order of the victory it becomes equal.</p>
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Here we observe that this type of Alquerque 12 has two leaders at the beginning, i.e. two strong pieces and 10 pawns. Strangely enough, we have seen something similar in two compositions of Juan de

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

Timoneda<sup>117</sup>, where there are two Damas in the initial position of the game.



Anyway we have to take into account that we have to wait till the year 1544 when we see in the book of Celio Calcagninus a discription of the game<sup>118</sup>.

As we know Celio Calcagninus started working in Ferrara in the year 1506, precisely in the time of Francesch Vicent, the author of a chess book. Another coincidence is the fact that in the alquerque-12 game described by Calcagini there are two corporals in the game. Something similar we observed in the first draughts game, in the book of Juan de Timoneda<sup>119</sup> which first edition was published in 1547. However, the

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<sup>117</sup> **TIMONEDA, Juan** (1635) Libro llamado Ingenio, el cual trata del Juego del Marro de punta", hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucho primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa. (The texts of this book are those of the first Spanish draughts book, erroneously attributed to Antonio de Torquemada in 1547). (Copy in possession of Govert Westerveld).

<sup>118</sup> **CALCAGNINUS, Caelius** (1544). *De Calculis* in Opera aliquot.

<sup>119</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1992). Libro llamado ingenio...juego de marro de punta: hecho por Juan Timoneda. ISBN 84-604-4042-7.

For further study of draughts:

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015) The Spanish Origin of the Checker and Modern Chess Game. Volume I. ISBN: 978-1-326-60212-3.

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015) The Spanish Origin of the Checker and Modern Chess Game. Volume III. ISBN: 978-1-326-45243-8

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texts in the book of 1547 are much older and seem to come from Francesch Vicent's time. In this first draughts game we also see that two damas were used in the starting position of the party. Here the matter is who was the first describe the new strong piece in the game. Apparently it was Francesch Vicent who around 1505 in his two manuscripts of Perugia and Modena described strong pieces (damas) in the game of draughts. Calcagnini described the capture of an opponent's piece and it appeared to be in the same manner as in the Roman Ludus Latronculus game. It is logical to think that Calcagnini had the change from the alquerque-12 game to draughts in mind and started using strong pieces in alquerque-12, such as Francesch Vicent was experimenting. It is also possible that Calcagnini tried to describe the new draughts game as proposed by Francesch Vicent.

Anyway, we have to be very careful with these two ideas, because we see in the first Italian draughts game of the XVII century a short dama (King) that cannot be captured by pawns. The short dama is moving only square forwards or backwards and its action is disastrous for the opponent. So the possibility exists that the alquerque-12 game of beginning the 16<sup>th</sup> century, transferred to a chess board (andarraya?) obtained two weak damas or corporals in the game with the same movement as today has the dama in the Italian draughts game. Nevertheless, it is clear that for such a statement we need in future documentary proofs.



## CARPI, UGO DA

Ugo da Carpi (c. 1480-1532) was a painter and printmaker. There were certain problems between Ludovico Vicentino and the higher officials of the papal court, since in 1525 Clement VII withdrew Arrighi's privilege for la Operina and transferred it to the wood engraver Ugo da Carpi. It appeared that Arrighi did not respect certain rights of da Carpi. Nicole Blackwood in her splendid study states the document:

Our beloved son Ugo da Carpi is about to print, for the common usefulness of all people, new symbols and characters of letters, by which very young people are easily guided towards learning the art of writing, although he had previously been impeded by Ludovico Vicentino, such that he was not able to publish [in luceum dare] or sell these new characters. We, attentive both to the common good and to the justice of the people, especially because he, as is clear had been defrauded by the same [Ludovico], we want and concede wholly that Ugo be able to print these characters and books, to fashion as many [of them] as often as he might wish, and to put [them] up for sale<sup>120</sup>.

Strangely enough, Carpi brought out both books of Arrighi's handwriting under his name without mentioning him and without indicating the place and printer<sup>121</sup>. Carpi arrived in Venice in 1506, where he formed relations with the printers and the circle of Titian. In 1516 he requested the Venetian Senate to patent his method of engraving. After a stay in Rome, where he was influenced by the classicism of Raphael, he returned to Venice fleeing the Sack of Rome in 1527.

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<sup>120</sup> **BLACKWOOD, Nicole** (2013). Printmaker as Painter: Looking closely at Ugo da Carpi's *Saint Veronica Altarpiece*. In: Oxford Art Journal, 36, 2, pp. 167-184. Citation on pp. 181-182

<sup>121</sup> **MORISON, Stanley & McKITTERICK, David John** (2009) *Selected Essays on the History of Letter Forms in Manuscripts and Prints*. Cambridge University Press, p. 107

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### CASALI, BATTISTA

Battista Casali (1473-1525) was born to an old Roman family and studied letters under Pomponius Laetus and law under his uncle, the jurist Luca Casali. He was a well-known person in Rome and many of his poems were printed.

Casali had correspondence with Erasmus, but did not meet him when Erasmus visited Rome in 1509. Today Casali's works are found in manuscript in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan.

Ludovico Vicentino Degli Arrihi printed the following work of Casali:

[BATTISTA CASALI] *Baptistae Casalii in legem agrariam pro communi utilitate, et ecclesiastica libertate tuenda, ad Clementem VII. pont. max. oratio* [Impressum Romae apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum]

## CASTIGLIONE, BALDASSARE

Baldassare Castiglione clearly explains in his *Il libro del Cortegiano* that the Spaniards knew how to play well in those years while they had other professional activities. It is very likely that the book *Cárcel de amor* was given to Ferrara by Francesch Vicent himself, because Baldassare Castiglione also used this work to write his own work *Il libro del Cortegiano*.

However, Federico Fregoso, a friend of Baldassarre and Pedro Bembo<sup>122</sup>, has a different opinion. This Federico was the son of Gentile Feltria, the noblewoman who funded *La Celestina* of Francesch Vicent (Lucena). Federico learned a lot of chess from Vicent and because of these contacts he began writing a poem about chess in 1507. It took many years to complete it, but we see that Francesch Vicent (Ludovico Vicentino) published it years later in 1527 in gratitude for his friendship. Returning to Castiglione, he says the following about chess<sup>123</sup>:

“And what,” replied my lord Gaspar, “do you say of the game of chess?” “It is certainly a pleasant and ingenious amusement” said messer Frederico. “But I think there is one defect in it. And that is, there is too much to know, so that whoever would excell in the game of chess must spend much time on it, methinks, and give it as much study as if he would learn some noble science or do anything else of importance you please; and yet in the end with all his pains he has learned nothing but a game. Therefore I think a ver unusual thing is true of it, namely that mediocrity is more praiseworthy than excellence.”

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<sup>122</sup> OSBORNE, June & CORNISH, Joe (2003) *Urbino: The Story of a Renaissance City*, p. 157

CASTIGLIONE, Baldassarre & BAUDI DI VESME, Carlo (1854) *Il Cortegiano*. Firenze. Felice Le Monnier. Volume I, p. 322

<sup>123</sup> Strangely enough the chess issue was not indicated in the book of Boscan.

BOSCÁN, Juan (1873) *Los cuatro libros del Cortesano*. Edición dirigida por D. Antonio María Fabié, Madrid



**Baldassare Castiglione**

## **To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés**

My lord Gaspar replied:

" Many Spaniards excel in this and divers other games, yet without giving them much study or neglecting other things."

" Believe me," replied messer Federico, " they do give much study thereto, although covertly. But those other games you speak of, besides chess, are perhaps like many I have seen played (although of little moment), which serve only to make the vulgar marvel; wherefore methinks they deserve no other praise or reward than that which Alexander the Great gave the fellow who at a good distance impaled chick-peas on the point of a needle."

## CATTANI DA DIACCETO, FRANCESCO

Francesco Cattani da Diacceto (1466-1522) studied classics and philosophy at Pisa where he was a classmate of Giovanni de 'Medici. He knew Marsilio Ficino and was a faithful disciple, continuing the work of spreading Platonism.

In 1499 he wrote *De pulchro* and from 1502 he taught at the University of Florence. He published the Italian version of *De amore* in 1508. Being Rector of the Platonic Academy of Florence, he wrote *Panegyricus in amorem* (ante 1508) and a comment to Plato's Symposium. After his death Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed his work *Panegirico di Francesco da Diacceto* within a catalog largely composed of vernacular literature in 1526.

He had a network of correspondents, among whom were Pietro Bembo, Gian Giorgio Trissino, and Girolamo Querini. He became a prominent member of the circle of the Orti Oricellari (the Rucellai Gardens) where he met Gian Giorgio Trissino, who greatly admired him. Linguistic discussions were in fact a favorite subject during the meetings of the Orti Oricellari, where Gian Giorgio Trissino defended the authenticity of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, and Cattani - who was highly praised by Trissino - likely attended many of these encounters<sup>124</sup>.

One of the first readers of Cattani's vernacularizations such as Castiglione was not interested in the problem of composing philosophy in the vernacular, but was mainly focused on the stylistic quality of Cattani's Tuscan in order to argue for its own linguistic program.

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<sup>124</sup> SOLDATO, Eva del (2013) *The Elitist Vernacular of Francesco Cattani da Diacceto and Its Afterlife*. In: Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance, 16, N° 1-2, pp. 343-362. Citation on p. 346

## CAVICEO, JACOPO

Jacopo Caviceo (1443-1511) must have known our Lucena (Francesch Vicent) and the work of *La Celestina*<sup>125</sup> in Ferrara when he composed *Il Peregrino* in 1508 and dedicated this work to Lucrezia Borgia.

The influence of the work of Calisto and Melibea is noted throughout the work and there is no doubt that Caviceo had his contact with Lucena (Francesch Vicent) in Ferrara.

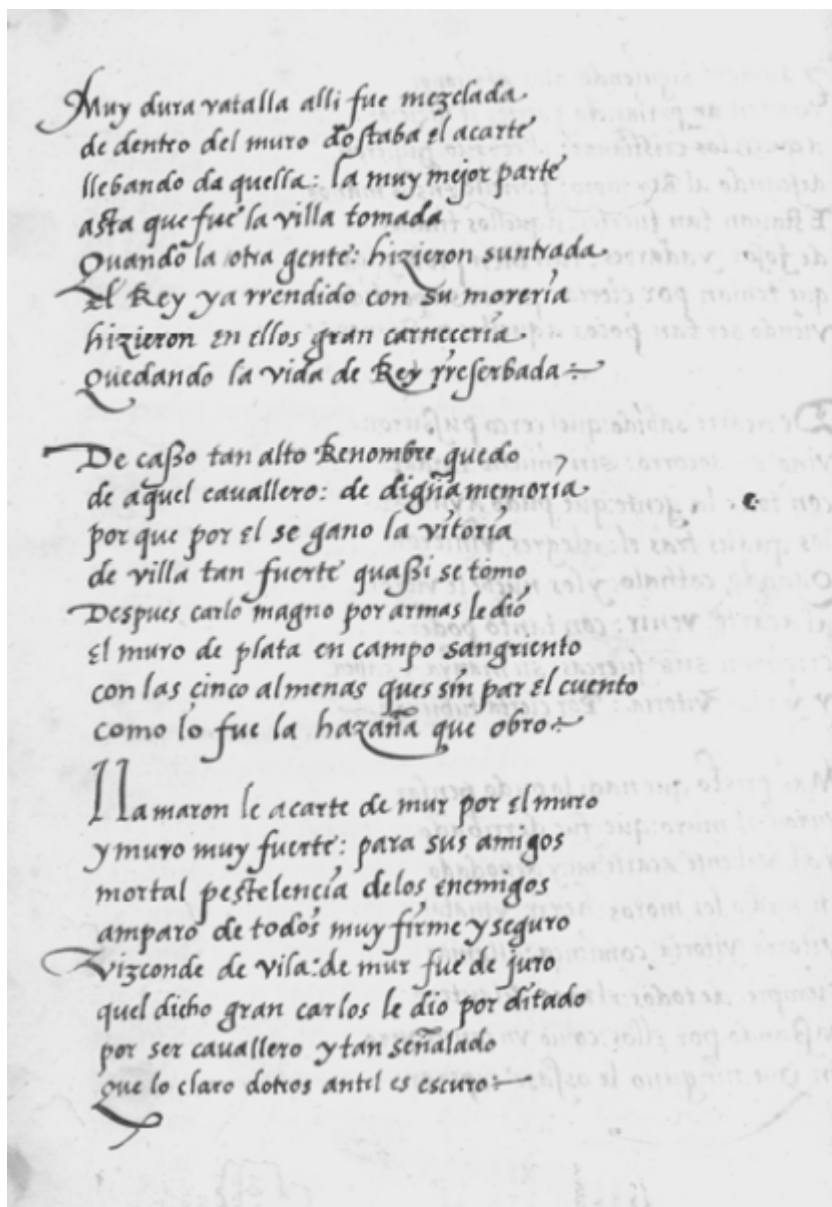
Lucena probably had to do with the translation of this work in Spanish or Caviceo copied his manuscript. Logically speaking the historians could thus never determine the biography of Hernán Díaz, the so-called translator of the Spanish work in 1516, known as *Libro de los honestos amores de Peregrino y Ginebra* and preserved in the Royal Library of Madrid. Quite interesting to see is that this factitious work IX / 7047 of the Royal Library of Madrid, known as the Palacio's volume bears at the end two poetic compositions of the Mur, which were probably written by Hernando Díaz in 1516.

The type of letters, which can be seen in the hereafter presented image, are similar to those of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi. But again, this needs to be confirmed by the experts. These two compositions follow hereafter<sup>126</sup>. JGAAP detected the author of the couplets as Juan Ramírez de Lucena. If this is true, this means that Lucena had his father's texts at his disposal.

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<sup>125</sup> GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (2010) *De Boccaccio a Caviceo: la conexión italiana de la ficción sentimental*. In: Cuaderns de Filologia Italiana, Volumen Extraordinario, pp. 109-128

<sup>126</sup> MARTÍNEZ MORÁN, Francisco José (2011) Edición Filológica del *Libro de los honestos amores de Peregrino y Ginebra* (CA 1510). Tesis Doctoral. Universidad de Alcalá, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Filología, p. 18 and pp. 24-27



Couplets of the Mur in the Palacio's factitious work



## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

### Couplets of the Mur NGrams n: 2

Juan Ramirez de Lucena Letter to Zapata	Juan Ramirez de Lucena Letter Exhortatoria	Juan Ramirez de Lucena Vita Beata	Juan del Encina Complete works	Juan Ramirez de Lucena Galardones
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### Couplets of the Mur NGrams n: 4

Juan Ramirez de Lucena Sermon	Juan Ramirez de Lucena Galardones	Juan Ramirez de Lucena Vita Beata	Juan Ramirez de Lucena Letter Jorge Manrique	Lucena Foreword Repeticion de amores
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The two couplets in question follow:

#### Blasón de las Armas de los Mures

Cuando los moros a Espanya ganaron  
obieron en ella batallas famosas  
con personas valientes y muy jenerosas,  
según las istorias antiguas contaron.  
En los montes Perineos se reservaron 5  
muchos cristianos de los enemigos,  
de quien sus azanyas fueron testigos  
de la resistencia que en ellos allaron.

Estando en los montes ya retirados  
sin tener mayor parte de toda el Espanya 10  
mostraron su fuerça y husaron de manya  
quando se bieron de moros çercados;  
obo varones ý muy señalados  
que fueron la causa de grandes vitorias  
de quien oy parecen sus dignas memorias 15  
y hechos famosos nel mundo nombrados.

Entre los cuales con mucha razón  
puso la Fama en muy mejor parte

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

a un cavallero: llamábase Acarte,  
valiente, muy sabio, de gran corazón. 20  
En la misma tierra, nombrado Varón  
y Señor de Vila, con su varonía;  
el cual con los moros usó de porfía  
mostrando braveza de fuerte león.

Él y los suyos así pelearon 25  
contra los perros, inícuos tiranos,  
que siempre pusieron en ellos las manos,  
en todas las cosas que juntos se allaron.  
Luego, después ahí se ayuntaron  
Oger Cathaló, con nueve barones 30  
del alta Alemanyá y de altas naçiones  
de quien las istorias tan bien recontaron.

Oger con los nueve muy claros varones  
baxaron de aquellas muy altas montanyas  
en contra los moros haziendo azanyas 35  
mostrando vanderas, alçando pendones.  
Luego sin más, las tiranas naçiones  
viendo a los nueve creçelles las furias,  
el Rey con los suyos s'encierra n'Anpurias;  
los moros tras ellos, con sus escuadrones. 40

A la ciudad de Heuna los moros llegaron,  
ganando la tierra que hera ya perdida,  
llebando los moros, de toda vençida,  
dexando las tierras que antes ganaron.  
En Perpinyán tan bien aribaron 45  
siguiendo a los perros, con mucha vitoria;  
los cuales ganaron por premio la gloria  
pues con las personas tan bien trabajaron.

Y siempre siguiendo a los africanos,  
vinieron Ampurias, do fuertes se hizieron, 50  
a quien los cristianos el cerco pusieron  
deseando al rey moro ponelle en sus manos.  
Estavan tan fuertes aquellos tiranos,  
de fosos y adarbes tan bien probeídos,  
que tenian por cierto jamás ser perdidos 55  
viendo ser tan pocos aquellos cristianos.

De Acarte sabido que'l cerco pussieron,

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

vino en socorro, sin mucho tardar,  
con toda la gente que pudo ayuntar  
los cuales tras él alegres vinieron, 60  
cuando Cathaló y los nueve le vieron  
al Acarte venir: con tanto poder  
creçieron sus fuerças, su manya y saber,  
y ya la vitoria por çierta tubieron.

Más presto que nadi lo pudo pensar 65  
vieron el muro, que fue derribado,  
y al valiente Acarte, muy denodado,  
en medio los moros herir y matar.  
“¡Vitoria! ¡Vitoria!”, comiença a llamar.  
Siempre de todos el más delantero 70  
passando por ellos como un Cançervero,  
sin que ninguno le ossase esperar.

Muy dura vatalla allí fue mezclada  
de dentro del muro do’staba el Acarte,  
llebando d’aquella la muy mejor parte, 75  
asta que fue la villa tomada.  
Cuando la otra gente hizieron su’ntrada,  
el rey ya rendido con su morería,  
hizieron en ellos gran carneçería,  
quedando la vida de rey reserbada. 80

De casso tan alto renombre quedó  
de aquel cavallero de digna memoria,  
porque por él se ganó la vitoria  
de villa tan fuerte cuassi se tomó.  
Después Carlomagno por armas le dio 85  
el muro de plata en campo sangriento,  
con las çinco almenas, qu’es sin par el cuento,  
como lo fue la hazaña que obró.

Llamáronle Acarte de Mur, por el muro:  
y muro muy fuerte para sus amigos; 90  
mortal pestelencia de los enemigos.  
Amparo de todos, muy firme y seguro.  
Vizconde de Vila de Mur fue de juro,  
qu’el dicho gran Carlos le dio por ditado,  
por ser cavallero y tan señalado, 95  
que lo claro d’otros ant’él es oscuro.

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### Copla al escudo de las armas

Vi cinco almenas en muro plateado,  
qu'en campo de sangre con sangre ganó  
Acarte, delante d'Oger Cathaló  
n'el muro d'Anpurias por él derribado.  
Por cuya persona el rey fue tomado, 5  
moro muy fuerte, de muchos temido.  
Diole Carlomagno Mur por apellido,  
Vizconde de Vila de Mur por ditado.

Professor Martin Antonetti was very helpful on the 18th October, 2016 and with respect to the *Couplets of the Mur in the Palacio's factitious work* he informed me by email as follows:

What an interesting document. ....The style of the script is certainly similar to that of Arrighi, but I'm not quite convinced that it is definitively his. You know there were several calligraphers in that decade who were associated with papal humanism and the papal court whose hand looks like that. Maybe they all had the same model (Bartolomeo Sanvito, perhaps?). Several of them worked in the chancery as *scriptores brevium* along with Arrighi in the 1520s. And several of them were Spanish, and in addition, several of them lived in the same part of town as Arrighi = the rione Ponte; we know this from the census of Rome that was made in the winter of 1527, where the names, nationalities and occupations are often recorded. Indeed, if I were to hazard a guess I would attribute the writing not to Arrighi, but to his quondam associate Genesius de la Barrera, a Spaniard.

## CELEBRINO, EUSTACHIO

Ludovico Vicentino wrote a book with the chancery cursive<sup>127</sup>. This work *La Operina. Il Modo & Regola de scriuere littera corsiuu ouer Cancellerescha*, a 32-page woodblock printing, was the first of several such publications.<sup>128</sup> He published the work under the name of Vicentino in Rome, but other publishers or writers today use Vincentio<sup>129</sup>.

His second book *Il modo de temperare le Penne con le varie sorti de littere ordinato* was printed in Rome. Il Vicentino had good contacts in Venice, where he also published his second book about handwriting. This book was printed with blocks cut by Eustachio Celebrino da Udine in 1522-1523 in Venice<sup>130</sup>.

In 1525 Celebrino also produced his own book on calligraphy, *Il modo di Imparare lettera Merchanescha*.

In 1528 Eustachio Celebrino published a long poem on the sack of Rome that achieved great success and was reprinted numerous times in various cities.

Rosa Salzberg let us know that Celebrino also produced a number of collections of remedies and recipes for common ailments and other health problems, including a manual for curing syphilis in ten days (*Questo è lo modo da guarir del mal francioso*); advice on avoiding

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<sup>127</sup> LAWSON, Alexander S. (1990) Anatomy of a Typeface. David R. Godine. p. 84

<sup>128</sup> FAIRBANK, A. (1951) *Italic handwriting*. In: Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 99, No. 4858 (19TH OCTOBER, 1951), pp. 884-895

<sup>129</sup> VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico ('Vincentino'). (1522) *Operina di Ludovico Vicentino da imparare di scrivere littera cancelleresca*. VINCENTINO DEGLI ARRIGHI, Ludovico (1523) *Il modo da temperare le penne con le varie sorti de littere ordinato per Ludovico Vicentino*

<sup>130</sup> LEIGHTON, J. & J. (1522-1523) Early printed books arranged by presses, London, p. 160

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the plague (*Reggimento mirabile et verissimo a conservar la sanità in tempo di peste*); and a book of ‘secrets’ or recipes for beauty, health, and household problems (*Opera nuova intitolata dificio di ricette*)<sup>131</sup>.

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<sup>131</sup> **DIAMANTI, Donatella** (1990) ‘*La presa di Roma* di Eustachio Celebrino da Udine’. In: *Italianistica* 19 no. 2: 331-49

**MORISON, Stanley** (1929) *Eustachio Celebrino da Udene: Calligrapher, Engraver, and Writer for the Venetian Printing Press* (Paris: Pegasus Press)

**PALMA, Marco** (1979) ‘*Celebrino, Eustachio*’. In: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 361-362

**SERVOLINO, Luigi** (1944-49) ‘Eustachio Celebrino da Udine. Intagliatore, calligrafo, poligrafo ed editore del sec. XVI’. In: *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*: 179-89

Cited by **SALZBERG, Rosa** (2012)

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/emforum/projects/arc/eustachioccelebrino/>

## CHACHI, JOANNES

The Dominican Library Regia Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome houses an Italian chess manuscript (Cod. E. VI. 3. 4<sup>o</sup>) of Joannes Chachi from 1511. Apparently he came from Terni in Umbria. The manuscript of 158 problems was bundled together with a Latin treatise about Rythomachy written by an Englishman at the instance of George Neville, Archbishop of York (1465-1476). Each problem occupies a page in the manuscript as should have occurred in the book of Francesch Vicent (1495). According to the researches of Garzón the author of the MS. Joannes Chachi took the book of Vicent (1495) as base and not Lucena's one (1497), although it was closely related to the book of Lucena. Garzón observes<sup>132</sup>:

And the MS in the Casanatense Library of Rome has 12 modern sets and 146 old ones. This last manuscript, closely related to the book of Lucena, allows us to develop our hypothesis.

There are actually 144 problems of the old ones, for one, 92 is a fictitious problem, the famous problem in which the knight without stepping on the same square twice runs through the board, in this case half of it, both in 31 different jumps. This problem had always interested inventors and mathematicians. In the eighteenth century the subject had such illustrious passionate mathematicians as Euler and De Moivre. Euler in 1759 gave some solutions of great interest for the polygraphy forming the knight's movement. One is in the book written by Borao (Zaragoza, 1858). Interestingly, he proposed some in which it moved through half the board, and then the other half forming a closed and symmetrical polygraphy. Surprisingly the problem is presented on half board in the MS of Chachi, already in 1511.

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<sup>132</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2001) En Pos del Incunable perdido Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partitis dels schachs, Valencia, p. 121

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

This type of elements brings us back to the father of Lucena, the prothonotary Juan Ramirez de Lucena, who was an expert in encrypted language or cryptographer<sup>133</sup>.

Seeing that the author used a pseudonym again, there is little doubt that here Francesch Vicent was involved in the writing or preparation of this manuscript.

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<sup>133</sup> **PAZ Y MELIA, A.** (1892) (editor): *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Vita Beata, p. 200



## CHALON, PHILIBERT DE

Philibert de Châlon (18 March 1502 – 3 August 1530), prince of Orange, was the last prince of Orange from the house of Chalon. Born at Nozeroy to John IV of Chalon-Arlay, Philibert served Emperor Charles V as commander in Italy, fighting in the War of the League of Cognac. He took part in the Sack of Rome (1527) and was killed during the final stages of the siege of Florence (1530). An interesting exchange of letters during the siege between him and Charles survived. He was succeeded as prince of Orange by his sister's son Renatus of Nassau-Breda.

The text that follows was printed by Arrighi on 8 June, 1527:

[CLEMENS PP. VII] [breve] Dilectis filiis nobili viro Philiberto de Chialon Principi Orangiae et aliis capitaneis exercitus Caes. Maiestatis Hispanicae Alamanicae Italicae et cuius suis alterius nationis tam equitum quam peditum. Clemens PP. VII. Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum nuper exercitus... (Datum Romae in Castro Sancti Angeli sub annulo Piscatoris die VIII Iunii MDXXVII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.) (sottoscrizione: Euangelista [Capodiferro]) [s.n.t.]

The mercenary armies who sacked Rome so thoroughly in 1527 entered the city on 6 May. Pope Clement VII and his men were able to escape to safety on this day thanks to the "Passetto", a secret corridor which Pope Alexander VI had built along the top of the wall connecting the Vatican with Castel Sant'Angelo.

What we know is that the prince of Orange settled himself in the pope's apartments and, not wanting his horses to be stolen by his own men, stabled the animals in the Sistine Chapel.

On June 6, 1527 Clemente VII surrendered and agreed to pay a ransom of 400,000 ducati in exchange for his life. Most historians think that Arrighi was one of the many who either perished or were ruined in that

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

catastrophe<sup>134</sup>. However, it appears from the document that on 8 June Arrighi was alive.

Charles V appointed the prince of Orange as the Captain General of his army in Italy on 31 January 1528. At that time the only military force was the Spanish contingent situated in Castelsantangelo, among them Spanish veterans from Naples and some mercenary pikemen, but all of them with military discipline.

On 17 February 1528 the Imperial Army left Rome after occupation of more than eight months. Francisco Delicado who spoke Spanish and was a wealthy man could pay the ransom, if any, to leave with the Imperial Army on 10 February 1528.

On the other hand Francisco Delicado (Arrighi) who started working in Venice dedicated his work of *Lozana Andalus* probably to Andrea Gritti, the Doge of Venice.



**Philibert de Châlon**

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<sup>134</sup> **MORISON, Stanley** (2009) *Selected Essays on the History of Letterforms in Manuscript and Print*, p. 36

## CIOCCHI DEL MONTE, GIOVANNI MARIA

Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte (1487-1555) was born in Monte San Savino. He was educated by the humanist Raffaele Brandolini Lippo and later studied law at Perugia and Siena. During his career he distinguished himself as a brilliant canonist rather than as a theologian.

Del Monte was the nephew of Antonio Maria Ciocchi del Monte<sup>135</sup>, Archbishop of Manfredonia (1506–1511). When his uncle exchanged this seat for a position as a Cardinal in 1511, Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte succeeded in Manfredonia in 1512. In 1520 del Monte also became bishop of Pavia. Popular for his affable manner and respected for his administrative skills, he was governor of Rome twice and entrusted with several duties by the curia.

At the Sack of Rome (1527) he was one of the hostages given by Pope Clement VII to the Emperor's forces, and barely escaped execution. Pope Paul III made him Cardinal-bishop of Palestrina in 1536 and employed him in several important legations, notably as papal legate and first president of the Council of Trent (1545/47), and then at Bologna (1547/48).

Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte (1487 – 1555) was the Pope of the Catholic Church under the name of Julius III from 1550 to 1555.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed his following book:

[GIOVANNI MARIA CIOCCHI DEL MONTE (poi papa Giulio III)] *Ioannis Mariae archiepiscopi Sipontini Ad principes christianos oratio de pace.*  
[Impressum Romae, per Ludouicum Vicentinum, anno a partu Virginis 1526]

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<sup>135</sup> TOUBER, Jetze (2010) *Willem van Enckenvoirt and the Dutch Network in Rome in the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century*. In: *Fragmenta* 4 , pp. 121-143. Citation on pp. 136-137

## **COLLENUCCIO, PANDOLFO**

The manuscript of the work *Specchio di Esopo* has similar letters to those of Ludovico Vicentino. It was dedicated and delivered to the Pope of Medici Leo X in 1513 by Pandolfo's son Teodoro Collenuccio, thus approximately at the time that Ludovico Vicentino was working as a scribe at the Apostolic Chancery writing the apostolic briefs<sup>136</sup>.

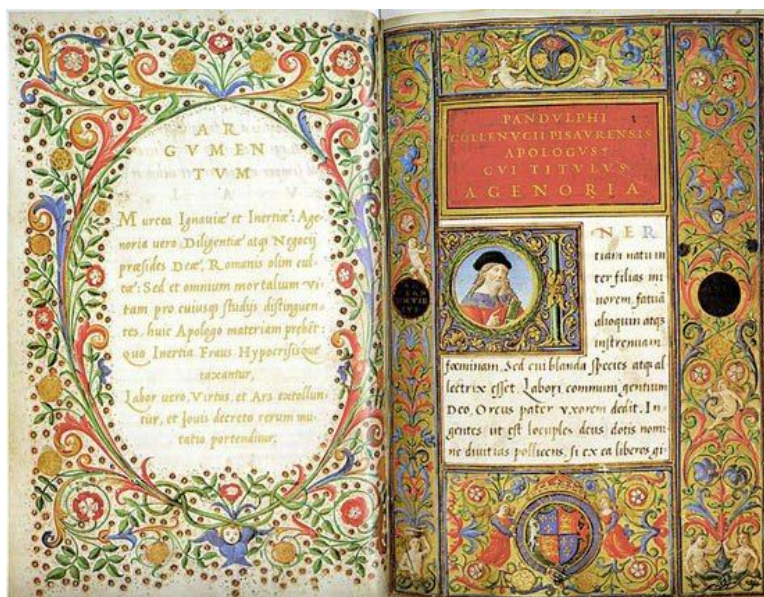


**Collenuccio Pandolfo**

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<sup>136</sup> **TORÍO DE LA RIVA Y HERRERO, Torcuato** (1802) *Arte de escribir por reglas y con muestras: segun la doctrina de los mejores autores antiguos y modernos, extranjeros y nacionales acompañado de unos principios de Aritmética, Gramática y Ortografía Castellana, Urbanidad y varios sistemas para la formación y enseñanza de los principales caracteres que se usan en Europa. Segunda Edición, Madrid, pp. 169-171*

However, experts are yet to find out whether this manuscript really was written by Il Vicentino or another calligrapher. What is interesting here is that we again see somebody from Ferrara, because Pandolfo Collenuccio was at the Este court of Ferrara. The dialogue *Specchio d'Esopo* (Mirror of Aesop) was composed around 1497. Collenuccio was born in Pesaro in 1444 and also acted as the Este's ambassador to Rome and to the Imperial court. He was imprisoned by Giovanni Sforza, and subsequently executed on 11 June 1504<sup>137</sup>.



**Pandulphi Collenuccii Pisaurensis Apologi**  
<http://www.historygraphicdesign.com>

The dialogue *Specchio d'Esopo* is distinct among Collenuccio's writings: it offers an exposition of the ethical value of fables for a Renaissance prince and his courtiers through six interlocutors who Ercole (Hercules), Esopo (Aesop), Plauto (Plautus), Luciano (Lucian), Blacico (the porter), and il Re (the prince), who, owing to the

<sup>137</sup> **FIORENZA, Giancarlo** (2001) Pandolfo Collenuccio's *specchio d'esopo* and the portrait of the courtier. In: *Arte & Design*, pp. 63-87

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dedication of the text, can be read as conversing with one another in a court setting. The protagonists are a figure for Ercole I d'Este. With the dialogue Collenuccio forms an investigative community of interlocutors who discuss moral objectives by assimilating fables and other ancient proverbs into their speech<sup>138</sup>.

In 1526 Ludovico Vicentino printed two books of Pandolfo Collenuccio: *Pandulphi Collenuicii Pisaurensis Apologi IIII* and *Specchio di Esopo*. Also the compagno of Zoppino called Vincenzo di Paolo or Vicentio had to do with a lot of prints of Pandolfo Collenuccio's works.

Quite interesting is to see that Lucena already had dealings with the *Fabulas de Esopo*, of which Giancarlo Fiorenza said the following<sup>139</sup>:

Pandolfo Collenuccio, while resident at the Este court of Ferrara, developed Boccaccio's argument by promoting the reading and reciting of Aesop's fables in all aspects of court life. In particular his vernacular expository dialogue *Specchio d'Esopo* (Mirror of Aesop), composed around 1497 in the guise of a fable, offers a variety of strategies on how to integrate fables into both public and private address.

The book *Fábulas de Esopo* (Ysopo) was printed with Pedro Hagenbach and Leonardo Hutz's second Gothic type in Valencia in 1495. According to this testament of 1541 an edition of this book was in the library of Fernando de Rojas. It is known that for his chess book Lucena had a chess position coming from Ferrara at his disposal. Did he also work with a Latin manuscript of *Esopo* from Ferrara to be able to translate and print in 1495 his *Fabulas de Esopo* in Valencia and other places?

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<sup>138</sup> MARSCH, D. (1980) *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, discusses the structure and development of the humanist dialogue.

<sup>139</sup> FIORENZA, Giancarlo (2001) Pandolfo Collenuccio's *Specchio D'Esopo* and the portrait of the Courtier. In: *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Vol. 9, pp. 63-87

## COLONNA, VITTORIA

The Universiteitsbibliotheek of Amsterdam (MS XV D6) has a famous manuscript of a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Ethica*<sup>140</sup>.

It contains the Colonna arms, so was made for Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547), a friend and patron of Michelangelo's<sup>141</sup>. However, not all historians share the same opinion on the date. Fontaine stated that the manuscript was written in 1517 by the celebrated calligrapher Arrighi for Vittoria Colonna and illuminated by Attavanti<sup>142</sup>. The chancery cursive was not necessarily inclined. Arrighi's upright format can be seen in a manuscript of Aristotle's *Ethics*.

Getsman let us know that there was another notable woman in the exceptional group of female patrons. She was Vittoria Colonna, a friend and patron of Michelangelo's. Vittoria owned a splendid copy of Aristotle's works written for her c. 1510 by a famous scribe Lodovico Arrighi of Vicenza, author of the first printed handwriting manual. Its illumination can be attributed to the Florentine illuminator Attavante degli Attavanti in collaboration with the Milanese illuminator Matteo da Milano<sup>143</sup>.

Bartolomé Torres Naharro was a pseudonym for Lucena in order to edit the book *Propalladia* by the printer Jean Pasquet in Naples in 1517.

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<sup>140</sup> Aristoteles, *Ethicorum libri decem*. Rome, 1517, 188 pp.

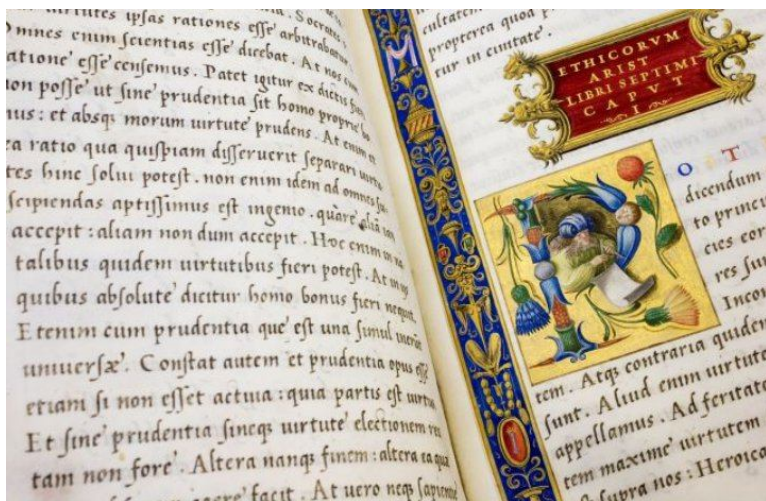
<sup>141</sup> **GEURS, Roos D. & BIEMANS, Jos A.A.M.** (2002) *The Aristotle Manuscript in Amsterdam: an Italian Masterpiece for Vittoria Colonna*. In: Roma nel Rinascimento, pp. 185-193

<sup>142</sup> **FONTAINE VERWEY, Herman de la** (1984) The City Library of Amsterdam in the Nieuwe Kerk 1578-1632. In: *Quaerendo*, Volume 14, Issue 3, pp. 163-205

<sup>143</sup> **GETSMAN, Elina & STEVENSON, Jill** (2012) *Threshold of Medieval Visual Culture: Limanal Spaces*, p. 163

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

There is a lot of literature about Marquis of Pescara, because many authors wrote about this personage. One of them is Paolo Giovio who informs that the Marqies of Pescara was a lover of letters<sup>144</sup>.



Aristotle's *Ethica* of the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Amsterdam  
Courtesy of (c) Bettina Neumann

1616 was an important year for Bartolome Torres Naharro, because apparently it was in this year that he left Rome to settle in the court of Fabrizio Colonna. Logically there had to be a reason for that and that is why I have analyzed the events of that year. We then see that on August 12 1515 Prospero Colonna was taken prisoner by the French in Villafranca del Po. On the other hand, in August 1515 the Pope sent Cardinal Giulio de 'Medici<sup>145</sup>, Protector of Bartolomé Torres Naharro, who had to procure the full restoration of Bentivoglio, to keep in check

<sup>144</sup> **GIOVIO, Paoli** (1570) *Historia del fortissimo, y prudentissimo Capitan Don Hernando de Aualos Marques de Pescara: con los hechos memorables de otros siete excele[n]tissimos capitanes del Emperador D. Carlos V...* / recopilada por el Maestro Valles; con una adiccion hecha por Diego de Fuentes..., Ánveres, pp. 14-15

<sup>145</sup> Illegitimate son of Julian de Medici, nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent and cousin of Pope Leo X. He was cardinal between 1513 and 1523 and Pope between 1523 and 1534.



the Duke of Ferrara, who strived to take possession of Modena and Reggio.

We remember this humanistic atmosphere of the court of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, the years 1506-1507, which were presented regularly, apart from Baldassare Castiglione, son of Luigia Gonzaga, Cesar Gonzaga, Pedro Bembo, and Octavino Fregoso, brother-in-law of Cesar Gonzaga; also of Giulio de Medici and Federico Fregoso<sup>146</sup>, son of Gentile Feltria (1458-1529), who funded the book of *Celestina* in Italian in 1505. The friendship that Francesch Vicent had with the atmosphere of Ferrara and Urbino is a known fact. On the other hand the friend of Juan del Encina, the chess master Francesch Vicent, was in the papal court. Therefore the situation of supposed Bartolome Torres Naharro, by Giulio de Medici's side, against the Duke of Ferrara, was uncomfortable for him. This may be one reason for Torres Naharro to leave the papal court in Rome.

According to Menendez and Pelayo Torres Naharro also came to meet Juan de Encina in the same courtly environment during the papacy of Leo X until Torres Naharro left unexpectedly<sup>147</sup> towards Naples, to enter as a chaplain in the family of Fabrizio Colonna and his daughter, the divine Vittoria Colonna, who was married to the Marquis of Pescara.

There is a lot of literature about Marquis of Pescara, because many authors wrote about this personage. One of them is Paolo Giovio who informs that the Marquis of Pescara was a lover of letters<sup>148</sup>.

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<sup>146</sup> **CASTIGLIONE, Baldassarre** (1854) *Il cortegiano*, Carlo Baudi di Vesme

<sup>147</sup> **MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1941) *Bartolomé de Torres Naharro y su Propaladia*. Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria. Ed. Nacional, Santander, Aldus S.A., 1941, Volume II, p. 311

His friend Mesiniero (Mesinierus I. Barberius Aurelianensis) qualifies his departure from Rome as unexpected. (Romanis postremo portubus insperate derelictis, Neapolim expectatus appulit.)

<sup>148</sup> **GIOVIO, Paoli** (1570). Historia del fortissimo, y prudentissimo Capitan Don Hernando de Aualos Marques de Pescara: con los hechos memorables de otros siete excele[n]tissimos capitanes del Emperador D. Carlos V... / recopilada por el Maestro Valles; con una adición hecha por Diego de Fuentes..., Ánveres, págs. 14-15

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Pope Leo was elected Pope on March 11 1513 and his mandate would last until Dec. 1 1521. Just like its predecessor, Pope Julius II (1503-1513), Clement VII (1523-1534) had a very clear idea of a cultural policy.

### Brief pedigree of the Colonna family

Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 6 Children, between them		
<b>1. Próspero Colonna</b> (1426-1463) Protector in Rome of <b>Juan Ramírez de Lucena (1430-1507?)</b> <b>Prothonotary</b>	<b>2. Antonio Colonna</b> Antonella Cantelmi 2º marriage - 7 children: 1. Próspero Colonna († 1523)  2. Giovanni Colonna (1457-1508)  Illegitimate child: 3. Girolamo Colonna Vittoria Conti Marriage 6 children, between them:  Pompeo Colonna (1479-1532) Cardinal <b>- Friend of Vitoria Colonna, Daughter of Fabricio</b>	<b>3. Odoardo Colonna</b> Filippa Conti Marriage 7 children 2 marriages  Fabricio Colonna (1460-1520) Helped, in 1512, escape Alonso del Este (Duke of Ferrara), who was the protector of Francesh Vicent  Married in 1488 with: Agnesina Montefeltro 5 children:  Vitoria Colonna (1490-1547) Fernando de Ávalos, Marqies of Pescara Marriage in 1509  Ascanio Colonna

Baldassare Castiglione, the ambassador of Francesco Maria della Rovere, adopted son of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, was also in Rome

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between 1508 and 1516 to defend the interests of the Duke of Urbino. Thus our mysterious character by the name of Bartolomé Torres Naharro *did* have some friends.

We do not know why Torres Naharro went to Naples. Isabella d'Este may have influenced this decision. In addition, there was great mutual respect between Fabrizio Colonna and the Duke of Este. The Pope's general Fabrizio Colonna was now the protector of Torres Naharro, as seen in the prologue of *La Propalladia* where Torres Naharro refers to him as "my Lord".

The fact that so little is known of Bartolomé Torres Naharro's life is due to the change of his real name. He was, in our judgment, a converso who refused to get involved in certain matters and tried to stay anonymous. The best thing in this case was to disappear and get a new name in Italy, where several Spaniards changed their names<sup>149</sup>. We know that in later years Miguel Servet also changed his name and called himself Michel de Villeneuve (born in Villanueva de Sigena, Huesca) since, persecuted to death in Germany and current French Alsace, and wanted by the Inquisition in Zaragoza, and commanded by the Supreme, he entered France, where he lived and wrote for the rest of his life.

From the comedy *Tinelaria*<sup>150</sup> there is a loose edition in Porto, which carries a date stamp of 1516, but it's not really known when this book was printed. It is known that it was written between 1513 and 1517. The comedy was recited before Pope Leo X and Cardinal Giulio de 'Medici, protector of Bartolome Torres Naharro. The work is a dedication to the Cardinal of Santa Cruz, Bernardino de Carvajal<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>149</sup> GILLET, Joseph E. (1962) *Propalladia* and other works of Bartolome Torres Naharro. Torres Naharro and the drama of The renaissance Transcribed, edited and completed by Otis H. Green, Philadelphia. Volume 4, pp. 16-17

<sup>150</sup> GILLET, Joseph E. (1923) The original version of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*. In: Romanic Review, XV, pp. 265-275

<sup>151</sup> ZIMIC, Stanislav (1977) *El pensamiento humanístico y satírico de Torres Naharro*. Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, Santander. Two Volumes: Volume I, p. 224



**Vittoria Colonna**

The great friendship that Torres Naharro had with Cardinal Carvajal is obvious, since he was not mentioned at all in that comedy. We notice the same thing when Juan del Encina wrote very tough verses against Cardinal Carvajal, and this is an indication that Torres de Naharro and Lucena were the same person.

The great friendship that Torres Naharro had with Cardinal Carvajal is obvious, since he was not mentioned at all in that comedy. We notice the same thing when Juan del Encina wrote very tough verses against Cardinal Carvajal. This could be an indication that Torres de Naharro and Lucena were the same person?

The profane and religious devil, creation of the ancient Spanish theater of theologians<sup>152</sup>, does not appear in the works of Torres Naharro, or Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernandez. However we see it in the works of the Portuguese Gil Vicente. On the other hand Gil Vicente shares with Torres Naharro his antifrailuno criticism<sup>153</sup>.

According to Carbo and others<sup>154</sup> Torres Naharro found an alternative route to *the tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea*, making his works in comedies rather than tragicomedies:

In the four comedies *a fantasy* of Torres Naharro the threat of tragedy threatens a different outcome: Orpheus is about to be killed in *Seraphina*, Calisto in *Ymeneo*, as Floribundo in *Calamita*, Or as in Aquilano *Aquilana*. It seems as if the curse directed by Rojas against lovers would carry on in the lovers of Torres Naharro. But here it is about comedies and not tragicomedies. Floribundo, as Floristán, Ymeneo or Aquilano, and with them their ladies, they find an alternative road to that used by Calisto and Melibea, and in doing so disarm the tragedy. The mutation of Melibea in Calamita and Calisto in Floribundo make

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<sup>152</sup> WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, J.P. (1910) *The Devil as a dramatic figure in the Spanish religious Drama before Lope de Vega*. In: R.R. , I, 1910, pp. 302-312 y 374-383, especially pp. 304 and 383

<sup>153</sup> BATAILLON, Marcel (1950) *Erasmus y España*, Madrid-México, F.C.E., 1950, pp. 613-614

<sup>154</sup> CARBÓ, F; MARTÍNEZ, E. Y MORENILLA, C eds. Homenaje a Amelia García Valdecasas. Calamita se quiere casar. Los orígenes de la comedia y la nueva concepción del matrimonio. In: Anexos de *Quaderns de Filologia*. València. 1995, pp. 607-622

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possible the happy ending, and with it open the doors of the comedy. Naharro not only does not follow Rojas, but he retorts to him. Love does not have to lead to disaster.

One cannot exclude, according to Lithani, that Bartolome de Torres Naharro was part of a group of young students from the University of Salamanca, among which were found Lucas Fernandez, Gil Vicente, and Sanchez de Badajoz, and they all were in contact with Juan de Encina. Lithani adds that Torres Naharro was working for a wealthy student<sup>155</sup>, matching Lithani with his description of the biography of Torres Naharro to the biography of Juan del Encina. Other authors say that Torres Naharro comes to match Juan de Encina in the same courtly environment during the papacy of Leo X, until Torres Naharro went to Naples to be placed in the family of Francesco Colonna and his daughter, the divine Vittoria, who was married to the Marquis of Pescara. The work of Bartolome Torres Naharro is one of a courtier<sup>156</sup> that he had formed himself in Italy<sup>157</sup>, as was the case of Juan del Encina.

Interestingly, the comedy of weddings *La Aquilana*, directed with final words to viewers<sup>158</sup>, seems to relate to a contemporary episode that reached legendary status in those years with regard to the secret "views" of Fernando de Aragon (disguised as a servant) and Isabella in the court of Valladolid to personally negotiate their wedding. There are other minor details, with which critics have thought to be able to associate the comedy and the historical episode. Aquilano falls for Felicina after hearing of her portrait made by the ambassador of King

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<sup>155</sup> **LIHANI, J.** (1976) Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Boston, Twayne, p. 16

<sup>156</sup> **TADDEO, Sara Anne** (1994) Bartolomé de Torres Naharro's *Comedia Seraphina*: the *Comedia a fantasía* (de la cortesana). Dissertation of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania. USA

<sup>157</sup> **GIORDANO GRAMEGNA, Anna Lucia** (1986) *La influencia del primer teatro renacentista italiano en las comedias de Bartolome de Torres Naharro*. Tesis doctoral, Facultad de Filología de la Universidad de Valencia

<sup>158</sup> **WARDROPPER, Bruce W.** (1986) *The Dramatic Epilogue in Golden-Age Spain*. In: *Modern Language Notes (MLN)*, Vol. 101, No. 2, Hispanic Issue (Mar., 1986), pp. 205-219. Citation on p. 207

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Bermudo<sup>159</sup>, in the same way that it is said that Isabel chose Fernando after being informed by her ambassador about the situation and conditions of her two suitors, the French and the Aragonese. In turn McPheeters<sup>160</sup> finds a parallel in the life of the Catholic Monarchs: when Don Juan the heir died in 1497 the death that Naharro mentions in his song book, the humanist Ramirez de Villaescusa<sup>161</sup> published an imaginary lamentation of the young widow Princess Margaret in which she comes to consider suicide and the middle of it would be better for it: rope, push them off somewhere high, sword or fire, as does Felicina on Jornada V.

Who could be aware of so many details of these views? Could it be the prothonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena, who was one of the true friends of Ferdinand of Aragon in those years?

Torres Naharro allegedly resigned to the Medici palace in July 1516. His next protector was the schismatic Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal<sup>162</sup>, whom Pope Alexander VI appointed Cardinal of Santa Cruz in 1493. Once he started working for the Extremaduran Cardinal, he dedicated the first edition released *Tinelaria*<sup>163</sup>.

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<sup>159</sup> **GILLET, Joseph E.** (1962) *Propalladia and other works of Bartolome Torres Naharro*. Torres Naharro and the drama of The renaissance Transcribed, edited, and completed by Otis H. Green, Philadelphia. Volume 4, pp. 547-548

<sup>160</sup> **TORRES NAHARRO, Bartolomé** (1973) *Comedias Soldadesca-Tinelaria Himenea*. Edición de D.W. McPheeters. Clásicos Castalia, pp. 32-33

<sup>161</sup> **GONZÁLEZ OLMEDO, F.** (1944) *Diego Ramírez Villaescusa (1459-1537)*. Madrid, pp. 258-259 Cited by **TORRES NAHARRO, Bartolomé** (1973) *Comedias Soldadesca-Tinelaria Himenea*, Edición de D.W. McPheeters. Clásicos Castalia, p. 33

<sup>162</sup> **MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1941) *Bartolomé de Torres Naharro y su Propaladia*, Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria. Ed. Nacional, Santander, Aldus S.A., 1941, Volume II, pp. 274-275

<sup>163</sup> **MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1942) *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria*. Humanistas, lírica, teatro anterior a Lope. – VII. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Edición preparada por Enrique Sánchez Reyes, p. 276

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Pope Leo must have felt a preference for Torres Naharro, because he called him "dilectus filius".

Juan de Valdes was also well aware of the steps of Encina and Bartolomé Naharro<sup>164</sup>:

The style<sup>165</sup> that Torres Naharro has in his Propalladia, although it fails a little in comedies by not keeping good decorum of people, satisfies me a lot because it is very flat and without any affectation, mostly in the comedies *Calamita* and *Aquilana*, because the rest has everything, and even in these there are still some things that could be said better, or in a more caste, clearer, and simpler way.

Another famous author of the 16th century was the bachelor Villalón, who said this about Juan de Encina and Bartolomé<sup>166</sup>:

In the inventions of verses, tragedies, and comedies the ones done currently are sharper than the old ones because they are done in Castilian, one never showed a verse as acutely as the ones done by Torres Naharro: and there was nobody in ancient times that could measure verses as easily as he. As well as Juan Del Encina and many other contemporaries living today.

The only historian who sees a clear connection between the anonymous comedy *Thebaida* and the comedy is Joan Oleza. He shows by two examples that Torres Naharro, author of the comedy *Aquilana*, adopted his model to the anonymous comedy *Thebaida*:

The peculiar way to resist the harassment of the man whom one tries to calm down evoking the celebrated cases of women of antiquity which those men

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<sup>164</sup> **VALDÉS, Juan de** (1984) *Diálogo de la lengua*. Edición de Antonio Quilis Morales, pp. 196-197

<sup>165</sup> **GIORDANO GRAMEGNA, Anna Lucia** (1986) *La influencia del primer teatro renacentista italiano en las comedias de Bartolome de Torres Naharro*, Dissertation of Facultad de Filología de la Universidad de Valencia

<sup>166</sup> **VILLALÓN, Cristóbal de** (1898) Ingeniosa comparación entre lo Antiguo y lo Presente hecha por el bachiller Villalón, Valladolid, 1539, p. 178. Cited by **MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1941) *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literatura – II*. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Edición preparada por Enrique Sánchez Reyes, p. 375



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condemned to misfortune with his desire, as does Felicina (I, 4) and as did the Cantaflúa of the *comedy Thebaida*<sup>167</sup>.

Moreover, Aquilano is the son of the king of Hungary, as Berintho, the protagonist of the *Thebaida* is a theban knight, or as son of a great nobleman Arnalte is also theban in *Arnalte and Lucenda*<sup>168</sup>.

This could imply that the author of the comedy *Thebaida*, written before 1504, is Lucena, son of the prothonotary Juan de Lucena. With this one has better understanding of the relationship with the editor that probably only Torres Naharro (Juan del Encina) had access to the papers of his father.

Encina confirmed in a document having been under the orders of Cesare Borgia and that he was appointed as familiar of Alexander VI thanks to the influence of Cesare<sup>169</sup>. In the comedy *Soldadesca* we see that Bartolomé Torres Naharro has been serving Cesare Borgia when he says: "The good Duke Valentino. He had fun when I accompanied him."

The life of Torres Naharro remains a mystery. Barberius documents in his letter that Torres Naharro suffered shipwreck and was taken prisoner by the Moors. It can be more of a story that he had heard from Torres Naharro himself and it sounds more like an excuse as to not tell about his true adventures. It seems according to the comedy *Soldiery* that Torres Naharro was in the service of Cesare Borgia, Duke of Valentinois and Urbina, natural son of Pope Alexander VI.

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<sup>167</sup> **OLEZA, Joan** (1997) *Los origenes de la practica escenica cortesana: la comedia Aquilana*, de Torres Naharro. In: K. Sabik ed. *Théâtre, musique et arts dans les cours européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque*. Varsovia. Université de Varsovie. 1997, pp. 153-177. Citation on p. 4

<sup>168</sup> **OLEZA, Joan** (1997) *Los origenes de la practica escenica cortesana: la comedia Aquilana*, de Torres Naharro. In: K. Sabik ed. *Théâtre, musique et arts dans les cours européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque*. Varsovia. Université de Varsovie. 1997, pp. 153-177. Citation on p. 14

<sup>169</sup> **SHERR, Richard** (1982) A note on the biography of Juan del Encina. In: *Bulletin of the comedians* 1982-34, pp. 159-172. Citation on p. 168

## COLONNA, FABRIZIO

Fabrizio Colonna<sup>170</sup> was the protector of Bartolome Torres Naharro (Francesch Vicent/Lucena). Here we must remember that Juan Ramírez de Lucena had a protector by the name of Cardinal Próspero Colonna, family of Fabrizio Colonna. Medina also said that Lucena had been a “tablemate and continuous commensal” of Cardinal Prospero, head of the church of St. George in Velabro<sup>171</sup>.



On the other hand the presence of Juan Ramírez de Lucena in Rome is reflected in his work of *Epístola Exhortatoria*<sup>172</sup>, written around 1480,

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<sup>170</sup> GILLET, E. Joseph (1943) Volume I, p. 140

<sup>171</sup> MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO (1998) *El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II)*. Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, Págs. 135-170, citation on p. 160

<sup>172</sup> LUCENA, Juan de (1892) *Epístola Exhortatoria a las letras (en A. Paz y Melia (editor): Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892), p.215. Cited by MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO (1998) *El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II)*. Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, Págs. 135-170, p. 158. Also RICO, Francisco (1978, Nebrija frente a los bárbaros, p. 38) referring to p. 215 de Paz y Melia citing: «yo fui a Roma grandevo»,

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and the documents put him as a member of the entourage of the powerful Cardinal Prospero Colonna<sup>173</sup>.

### Brief pedigree of the Colonna family

Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 6 Children, between them		
<b>1. Próspero Colonna</b> (1426-1463) Protector in Rome of <b>Juan Ramírez de Lucena</b> <b>(1430-1507?)</b> <b>Prothonotary</b>	<b>2. Antonio Colonna</b> Antonella Cantelmi 2º marriage - 7 children: 1. Próspero Colonna (✠ 1523)  2. Giovanni Colonna (1457-1508)  Illegitimate child: 3. Girolamo Colonna Vittoria Conti Marriage 6 children, between them:  Pompeo Colonna (1479-1532) Cardinal <b>- Friend of Vitoria Colonna, Daughter of Fabricio</b>	<b>3. Odoardo Colonna</b> Filippa Conti Marriage 7 children 2 marriages  Fabricio Colonna (1460-1520) Helped, in 1512, escape Alonso del Este (Duke of Ferrara), who was the protector of Francesh Vicent  Married in 1488 with: Agnesina Montefeltro 5 children:  Vitoria Colonna (1490-1547) Fernando de Ávalos, Marqies of Pescara Marriage in 1509  Ascanio Colonna

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explicando además que «la carrera y la personalidad de Lucena se esclarecen definitivamente en la tesis doctoral de Jerónimo Miguel Briongos».

<sup>173</sup> CAPPELLI, Guido M. (2002) *El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena*, p.

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### CORDOVA, LUIS DE - DUKE OF SESSA

To McPheeters<sup>174</sup> the comedy *Thebayda* could have been written before 1512. McPheeters refers to the subject of the Jews, of whom M<sup>a</sup> Rosa Lida spoke, and about the vandalic duke in *Thebayda*, who for him is nobody else than the Great Captain Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453-1515), who received the title of the Duke of Sessa in Naples on 25 February of 1507. In *Thebayda* we found:

And even, if you look, that great vandalic duke, was brave for being extremely charismatic and an expert in the military discipline. It is a big enhancement to his notorious fame for how important he was distributing his assets.

In July of 1507 king Fernando the Catholic had a meeting with the great Duke of Valencia. In the comedy *Serafina* we also found an allusion to the vandalic duke<sup>175</sup>:

By the way, so pleasing would be to me your view which was from the Great Vandalic Duke to the Catholic king, newly passed to the providence formerly called Latina.

[GIOVAN BERARDINO FUSCANO, *Deploratoria*] *Al Illustriss. S. Don Loisi di Cordova duca di Sessa Ioan Berardino Fuscano da Monte Fuscolo D. S.* [Stampato in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perusino nel MDCCIII di ottobre]

The works *Palmerín* and *Primaleon* were written by Lucena<sup>176</sup> and not by Francisco Vázquez. Both works were dedicated to Luis [Fernandez] de Cordova.

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<sup>174</sup> **McPHEETERS, D.W.** (1955) Comments on the date of the Comedia Thebayda. In: Romance Philology, 1955-9, pp. 19-23. Citation on pp.21-22

<sup>175</sup> **McPHEETERS, D.W.** (1955) Comments on the date of the Comedia Thebayda. In: Romance Philology, 1955-9, pp. 19-23. Citation on p. 21

<sup>176</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (In press). The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of *La Celestina* Throughout His Life.

## CORSI, PIETRO

Pietro Corsi was a native of Carpi in Emilia, but the dates of both his birth and death are unknown. He was a member of the Roman Academy and fully shared its concern for a rigorous Ciceronianism, a concern which had aroused the scorn of Erasmus.

At the time of Pope Leo X the Venetian Andrea Navagero (1483-1529), Pietro Bembo (1483-1529), and Baldosare Castiglione (1478-1529) belonged to the Roman Academy directed by the secretary of Pope Leo X<sup>177</sup>. There's no doubt that Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi also belonged to this academy.

Coming back to Pietro Corsi, he was a priest attached to the curia of Pope Paul III. Apart from some unpublished letters, three eclogues by Corsi have been preserved in manuscript, including one that was recited in 1509 in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. Religious in scope and pagan in form and content, it retains a certain interest for its revelation of dramatic taste at the curia of Pope Julius II. Among his publications may be noted the poem *De Civitate Castellana Faliscorum non Veientium oppido* (Rome: Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi, 1525) and *In atrocissima urbis Romanae direptione et exidio deploratio* (Rome 1528), while some of his epigrams are found in two anthologies, *Coryciana* (Rome: L. de Henricis and L. Perusinus 1524)<sup>178</sup>.

Not all the poetry in Rome was of excellent quality. On more than one occasion they expressed themselves in satirical verses and ridiculed one another both for literary incompetence and for moral turpitude:

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<sup>177</sup> GREGOROVIVS, Ferdinand (2003) *Roma y Atenas en la edad media y otros ensayos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, p. 135 and 294

<sup>178</sup> BIETENHOLZ, Peter C. (1985) *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and reformation*. Volumes 1-3, A-Z. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p. 344.

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For example, a masked man delivered verses to Pietro Corsi that caricatured him as a *rusticus* (“country bumpkin”) who authored clumsy and tedious poetry.

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And an even more scurrilous poem faulted Pietro Corsi for his voracious and unconventional carnal indulgences<sup>179</sup>.

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<sup>179</sup> **GOUWENS, Kenneth** (1998). Remembering the Renaissance. Humanist narratives of the sack of Rome. Brill, Leiden, p. 18.

## DAMIAN, PETER

Saint **Peter Damian** (Latin: *Petrus Damianus*; Italian: *Pietro* or *Pier Damiani*) c. 1007 – 21 or 22 February 1072 or 1073 was a reforming Benedictine monk and cardinal in the circle of Pope Leo IX. Although living in the seclusion of the cloister, Peter Damian closely watched the fortunes of the Church, and like his friend Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII, he strove for reforms in a deplorable time. He was especially devoted to the Virgin Mary, and wrote an *Officium Beatae Virginis*. Peter Damian wrote a very influential biography of Romuald of Ravenna (c. 952-1027) in 1042 that is known as *Vita Beati Romualdi*<sup>180</sup>. Giovanni Tabacco let us know that the *Vita Beati Romualdi* is located in the sheets 137v-154r, preceded by a few sermons and a letter addressed to Pope Alexander II.

As we know, the father of Lucena (Francesch Vicent) the prothonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena wrote the work *Vita Beata* and Francesch Vicent was therefore familiar with the work of the *Vita Beati Romualdi* (Peter Damian) and the *Vita Beati Benardini Senensis* (Ludovicus Vicentinus). That gives enough reasons to use these two names in Italy as future pseudonyms.

It is dangerous to accept as a true author any name that figures in the book of the 16th century. I say this, because Garzón had shown through technical data and deep analysis that Francesch Vicent was the author of the chess manuscript *Cesena* and one of the authors of the book known as '*The Book of Damiano* edited in 1512. The supposed Portuguese author Damian, who was the apothecary of Odemira<sup>181</sup>, was dismantled by Garzón.

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<sup>180</sup> **DAMIAN, Peter** (1957) *Petri Damiani Vita beati Romualdi. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*. Tabacco, Giovanni, ed. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per Il Medio Evo

<sup>181</sup> Cited by **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) El regreso de Francesch Vicent. La historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno. Generalidad Valenciana. Fundación Jaime II el Just

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

By 2004 it was clear that this personage whose name was Damian was a pseudonym<sup>182</sup> for our Francesch Vicent, in service of Lucrecia Borgia as a master of chess who did not want his name to appear anywhere because of possible problems with the Holy Inquisition. But this dared thought was nothing new. The Portuguese Dagoberto Markl had arrived at the same conclusion by 2001. However, Garzón went much further, technically showing with documental proof in 2003 that behind the pseudonym of Damian lay Francesch Vincent - facts that I ignored in 2004.

Dagoberto Markl did not believe in the author Damian, but rather in the Hebrew doctor Judah Abrabanel (c.1465-1523) whose work *Dialoghi d'Amore With the Pseudonymous Leo the Hebrew* is known from 1535. On the other hand it is believed that the author of the work had passed away in 1524<sup>183</sup>. That suggests that converted Jews probably used pseudonyms to distance themselves with more freedom.

Damian wrote a chess book in Rome in 1512 that appears to be a pseudonym for Francesch Vicent. This is followed by the editions of Damian in Rome in 1518 and 1524.

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<sup>182</sup> Garzón has found an encrypted message on the (3) covers of the 2nd edition of Damian (1518). In one of them they are marked in black letters V, E, T, of the word "QUESTO". These letters make up the name of the author of *Segorbe* = VicEnT. But there are more encrypted messages clarified by Garzón. A mystery clarified five centuries later. Cf. **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *Vicent y Damiano. La expansión del ajedrez moderno en Italia. El misterio del tratado de 1512*, In: *El regreso de Francesch Vicent. La historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno*, Generalidad Valenciana, Fundación Jaime II el Just, pp. 458-478. Citation on pp. 465-468

<sup>183</sup> **ALLIEVI, Roberto** (2004) *Il libro di Damiano da Odemira*, In: *L'Italia scacchistica*, N° 1168, May 2004, pp. 164-171

**MARKL, Dagoberto** (s.a.), *Damiano portogese dito Damiao de Odemira*, Alguns esclarecimentos. ([www.al-shatrاندj.com](http://www.al-shatrاندj.com)). Cited by **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *Vicent y Damiano, La expansión del ajedrez moderno en Italia. El misterio del tratado de 1512*. In: *El regreso de Francesch Vicent, La historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno*, Generalidad Valenciana. Fundación Jaime II el Just, pp. 458-478



**To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés**

Antonio Blado printed the chess book of Peter Damian in 1524 and was involved in the tricky printing of *La Celestina* in 1520, which bears the year 1502 and was destined for Antonio de Salamanca who was an editor in Rome. There was a very good understanding between the anonymous editor of *La Celestina* in 1520 and the anonymous writer of the chess book of Peter Damian in 1524.



**The book of Peter Damian. The man on the left could have been Francesch Vicent and the one on the right probably Juan del Encina**

## DASSY, FRANÇOIS

The French translation of *Carcel de amor* was made by François Dassy, an employee of Louise de Valentinois, who was the daughter of Charlotte d'Albret and Cesar Borgia. In 1526 Dassy was secretary of Louise de Valentinois and of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre<sup>184</sup>.



Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre

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<sup>184</sup> **DICKMAN ORTH, Myra** (1983). The prison of Love: a Medieval Romance in the French Renaissance and its illustration. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 1983-XLVI, págs. 211-221. Cita en p. 214.

**To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés**

In 1526 Henry d'Albret married Margaret, sister of the French King Francis I. As a generous patron of the arts Marguerite befriended and protected many artists and writers.



**Margaret, Queen of Navarre  
Jean Clouet, 1530.**

Interesting is the observation in the text of the French edition *The Prison d'amour* indicating that the Italian text of the *Prison* was obtained from an inhabitant of Ferrara<sup>185</sup>. Was it Lelio Manfredi? There

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<sup>185</sup> **REYNIER, Gustave** (1908) *Le Roman Sentimental avant «L'Astree»*, Paris, Armand Colin, p.56.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

are also six manuscripts of French translation. One of them gives the name of the translator as Francisco d'Assy or d'Acy<sup>186</sup>. The book *Prison d'amor* was printed in Paris and Lyon.

### Editions of *Prison d'amor* (translation of *Carcel de Amor*) in France

Year	Town	Printer
1525	Paris	Antoine Courteau
1526	Paris	Antoine Cousteau
1527	Paris	Without name
1527	Paris	Antoine Bonnemère
1528	Lyon	Olivier Arnoullet
1533	Paris	Pierre Leber et Pierre Sergent
1552	Paris	Gilles Corrozet

The Italian book *Il Peregrino* was translated into French *Le Peregrin et Geneuvre*, by François Dassy, a lawyer and secretary to Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre. The first French edition appeared in Paris in 1527.

The book was a mandate of Luisa de Valentinoise. Was it the same inhabitant of Ferrara who supplied *Il Peregrino* to François Dassy?

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<sup>186</sup> **CORFIS, Ivy A.** (1987) Diego de San Pedro's *Carcel de amor*. A critical edition. Tamesis Books Limited, London, p. 16

## DELICADO, FRANCISCO

Francisco Delicado was working in Venice and wrote the work *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza*.

The term *Retrato* figures already in a versed portrait (*Retrato versificado*) after the death of the Duke of Nájera in 1515 that was published in the *Propalladia*.

Scholars do not know that strange printer in Venice who was working under the name of Francisco Delicado, but who is none other than Ludovico Vicentino (Francesco Vicent/Lucena) who then had the opportunity to publish certain books that he could not publish in Rome as he was a noble man.

Apollinaire suggested that Francisco Delicado was the author of a book that was traditionally attributed to Pietro Aretino: *Ragionamento del Zoppino fatto frate* (Venecia, 1539). We find the name of Zoppino (Zopín) in the book of *Lozana Andaluza*. As we know, Vincenzo di Paolo, also known as Vicentio compagno, worked for years with the editor Nicolo d'Aristotle di Ferrara detto Zoppino<sup>187</sup> in Venice.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi had to escape Rome and went to Venice, probably under the name of Francisco Delicado. There he worked with the books with which he was familiar and under two names: Francisco Delicado and Arrighi.

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<sup>187</sup> APOLLINAIRE, Guillaume (1900) *Dialogue du Zoppino*. Devenu Frère, et Ludovico, putassier, où sont contennues la vie et la généalogie de toutes les courtisanes de Rome.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

The question here is: who really is Francisco Delicado? He left the city of Rome on 10 February. That time the only secure place was in Castel Sant'Angelo. He must have been a very important person to be able to escape the sack of Rome. Apart from that he was accustomed to working in printing houses.

Charles V appointed the prince of Orange as the Captain General of his army in Italy on 31 January, 1528. At that time the only military forces was the Spanish contingent that was situated in Castel Sant'Angelo.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi spoke Spanish, was a wealthy man, and could pay the ransom, if any. He left Rome on 10 February 1528 with a strong body of Spanish soldiers of the Imperial Army to the shore of the Tiber. There galleys were waiting for him to set sail for Venice, probably in one of Andrea Doria's ships. Thereafter he used the name of Francisco Delicado, started working in Venice, and dedicated his work of *Lozana Andaluza* probably to Andrea Gritti, the Doge of Venice. On 17 February 1528 the Imperial Army left Rome after occupation of over eight months.

Apparently Arrighi took the blocks of his other two books to Venice on a trip in 1527 and left them there; he subsequently had a fallout with his Roman partner Ugo da Carpi who had created a special type based on Arrighi's design. As a result of this, subsequent Roman editions of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi's writing manual were based on recut blocks by da Carpi, while the Venetian editions by Zoppino used the original blocks.

With respect to the sounds of the pronunciation in the *Lozana Andaluza* of Spanish *ce, ci, ça, ço, çu*, as affricate dental consonant ("nearly ts") equivalent to the Venetian dialectal variant of Italian *ce, ci, za, zo, zu*<sup>188</sup>, Jacques Joset observes that:

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<sup>188</sup> ALONSO, Amado (1955) *Materia y forma en poesía*. Editorial Gredos

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

El lingüista argentino notaba que, al parecer, Delicado no tomó sus advertencias de un cercano antecesor, el humanista italiano Giovan Giorgio Trissino, “sino de su sentimiento propio de las equivalencias en las series de sonidos<sup>189</sup>”.

### Loose translation:

The Argentine linguist noticed that apparently Delicado did not take his warnings of a close predecessor, the Italian humanist Giovan Giorgio Trissino, "but from his own sense of equivalence in the series of sounds."

And we encounter something similar with Daniela Capra, who states:

El unico disponible, el de Trissino, no parece haber servido de fuente, ya que no hay puntos de contacto entre los dos, distinto el proposito, distinta la ocasion, amen del contenido<sup>190</sup>.

### Loose translation:

The only available one, that of Trissino's, does not seem to have served as a source, since there were no points of contact between the two other than the purpose, other than the occasion, not to say other than the content.

Today we know that Francisco Delicado had this information, because he worked under the name of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi in Rome and printed many books for Trissino. So he perfectly knew the situation of the linguistic issue and Trissino was his source.

Bruno M. Damiani<sup>191</sup> dealing with Francisco Delicado let us know that “In many respects his discussions of certain consonantal sounds have been considered an important contribution that reinforces the linguistic

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<sup>189</sup> **JOSET, Jacques** (1998). Muestra el Delicado a pronunciar la lengua española. In: Estudios en honor del profesor Josse de Kock, reunidos por N. Delbecque y C. De Paepe. Leuven University Press, pp. 297-310. Citation on p. 306.

<sup>190</sup> **CAPRA, Daniela** (2007). Francisco Delicado, Alonso de Ulloa y la Introduction a la lengua española. In: Artifara, Nº. 7, sección Monographica: <http://www.artifara.unito.it/>

<sup>191</sup> **DAMIANI, Bruno M.** (1974) *Francisco Delicado*, New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., pp. 16-17

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

studies made in the earlier part of the sixteenth century by the Italian Gian Giorgio Trissino<sup>192</sup>”.

In the hypothetical case that Francisco Delicado is the same figure as Ludovico Vicentino it is clear that the first one must have known Gian Giorgio Trissino.

This hypothesis is greatly fortified by the aspect that Ludovico Vicentino (Francisco Delicado) knew Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, because he printed his work *Panegirico di Francesco da Diacceto* in Rome in 1526. Furthermore it is highly significant that during the third revision of the *Cortegiano*, made between 1522 and 1524, a few months after Cattani's death in April 1522, Baltasare Castiglione decided to introduce the name of Francesco Cattani da Diacceto in a decisive passage intended to criticize people like Pietro Bembo who limited the noble vernacular to imitation of Petrarca and Boccaccio, while ignoring the work of other no less erudite modern Tuscans. Castiglione writes:

Therefore I do not understand how it can be right, instead of enriching our language and giving it its own genius, grandeur, and insight, to make it impoverished, meagre, abject and obscure, and to try to cramp it by insisting that everyone should imitate only Petrarch and Boccaccio, and refuse to place any confidence in Politian, Lorenzo de' Medici, Francesco Diaceto, and several others who are also Tuscan and no doubt just as learned and judicious as Petrarch and Boccaccio. Surely it would be a great shame to stop and refuse to go beyond that which the very earliest of our writers may have achieved, and to despair of the possibility of so many highly talented men finding more than one beautiful way of expressing themselves in their own natural language<sup>193</sup>.

Consequently, with respect to the natural language of Francisco Delicado used in *Lozana Andaluza* it is clear that he must have had the

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<sup>192</sup> JOSET, Jacques (1998) *Muestra el Delicado a pronunciar la lengua española*. In: Estudios en honor del profesor Josse de Kock, reunidos por N. Delbecque y C. De Paepe. Leuven University Press, pp. 297-310. Citation on p. 300

<sup>193</sup> SOLDATO, Eva del (2013). The Elitist Vernacular of Francesco Cattani da Diacceto and Its Afterlife. In: Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance, 16, N° 1-2, pp. 343-362. Citation on pp. 347-348.



necessary contacts with Trissino and Cattani. The printing by Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (Francisco Delicado) of the works of Trissino and Cattani are a good proof of that.

Again this hypothesis is greatly fortified by the aspect that Ludovico Vicentino (Francisco Delicado) knew Claudio Tolomei. Ludovico Vicentino del Arrighi printed the work *De le lettere nuovamente aggiunte libro di Adriano Franci da Siena intitolato Il Polito* in 1525 for Adriano Franci. However, Adriano Franci is wrongly attributed as the author of the work, because the actual author was Claudio Tolomei, a friend of Adriano Franci.

Tolomei is chiefly known for two dialogues - *Il Polito* (1525) and *Il Cesano* (1555) in which he discusses the phonology of the Tuscan language, the relation between speech and text, and the origins of language. In his poetry he applied classical metrical forms to vernacular verse (*Versi e regole della nuova poesia toscana*, 1539). His letters were published in seven books (1547).

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi was in contact with Italian writers such as Machiavelli, Castiglione, Firenzuola, Trissino, Tolomei, and most importantly of all, Bembo. Those scholars defended the dignity of their vernacular both through theoretical argument and through practice of it.

Francisco Delicado wrote two Italian books: *El modo de adoperare el legno de India occidentale* (1528<sup>194</sup>) and *Specchio vulgare per li Sacerdoti* (Rome 1525, Venice 1529). Delicado suffered from syphilis<sup>195</sup> for 23 years, which means that he contracted the disease in 1506, which was when he served in the court of Lucretia Borgia.

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<sup>194</sup> This edition is a likely revision of an earlier one from 1526. The text was probably written in 1524 or 1525. The papal bull of Clement VII attached is from 1526.

<sup>195</sup> **HERRERO INGELMO, María Cruz & MONTERO CARTELLA, Enrique** (2013) *El Morbus Gallicus o mal francés en la Lozana Andaluza de Francisco Delicado*. In: *Asclepio* 65 (2), pp. 1-14. Citation on p. 4

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One observes in *Lozana Andaluza* that the “Apology” follows the “Mamotreto LXVI”. In this “Apology” Francisco Delicado says among other things:

...yo, que soy de chica estatura, no alcancé más alto: asentéme al pie hasta pasar, como pasé, mi enfermedad. Si me decís por qué en todo este retrato no puse mi nombre, digo que mi oficio me hizo noble, siendo de los mínimos de mis conterráneos, y por esto callé el nombre, por no vituperar el oficio escribiendo vanidades con menos culpa que otros que compusieron y no vieron como yo.

### Loose translation:

I am of a small stature, I did not reach a higher one: I was stepping firmly until passing, so as my illness passed away. If you ask me why I did not put my name on all this portrait, I say that my job made me noble being the minimum of my countrymen, and so I shut the name, not to decry the office writing vanities with less guilt than others who composed and did not see like me.

Carla Perugini thinks that the office of Francisco Delicado is not one of a priest, but one of writer, thanks to which he is conscious of occupying an appreciable place among his fellow countrymen<sup>196</sup>.

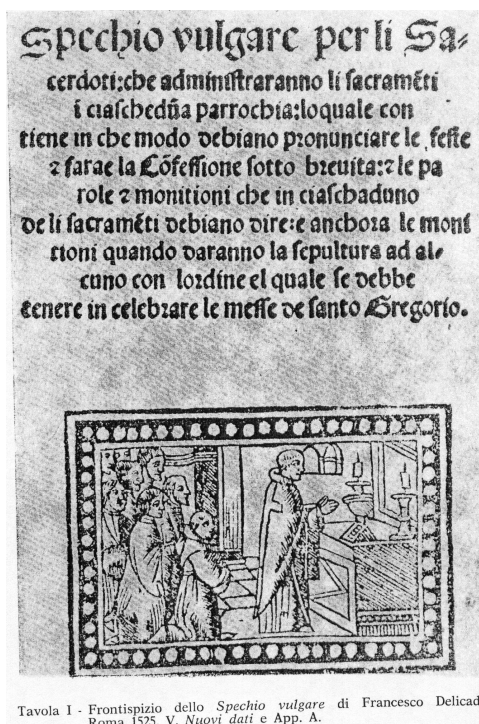
The idea of using Martos as his birth place by Francisco Delicado probably arose in Venice after his meeting with Navagero. Indeed, the papal license to print *El modo de adoperare el legno de India Occidentale*, dated to 1526 in Rome, does not include identification of the priest with *oppidum Martos*. Instead, in the *finis* of the treaty, dated February 10 1529, the identification already figures. Also in the *Spechio vulgare per Sacerdoti che li li amministranno Sacramenti* [...] (Rome, 1525), another work of Delicado, the author appears as a priest of the Roman parish Santa Maria in Posterula without any mention of

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<sup>196</sup> **DELICADO, Francisco** (2004) *La Lozana andaluza*. Edición, introducción y notas de Carla Perugini. Fundación José Manuel Lara, Sevilla. P. 352

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Martos. Instead, other texts produced in Venice Delicate almost all carry a reference to Martos<sup>197</sup>.



### The fifth person on the left is Francisco Delicado

Here again a proof that Francisco Delicado (alias Francesch Vicent) was on the court of Ferrara:

LOZANA.- ¿Qué más Celidonia o Celestina que ella? Si todas las Celidonias o Celestinas que hay en Roma me diesen dos carlines al mes,

<sup>197</sup> BUBNOVA, Tatiana (1998) *Delicado en la Peña de Martos*. In: Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas 21-26 de agosto de 1995, Birmingham. Volume 2, pp. 70-78. Citation on pp. 74-75

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

como los médicos de Ferrara al Gonela, yo sería más rica que cuantas mujeres hay en esta tierra.

DIVICIA.- Decime eso de Gonela.

LOZANA.- Demandó Gonela al duque que los médicos de su tierra le diesen dos carlines al año; el duque, como vio que no había en toda la tierra arriba de diez, fue contento. El Gonela, ¿qué hizo? Atose un paño al pie y otro al brazo, y fuese por la tierra. Cada uno le decía: «¿Qué tienes?» Y él les respondía: «Tengo hinchado esto». Y luego le decían: «Va, toma la tal hierba, y tal cosa, y pónela y sanarás». Después, escribía el nombre de cuantos le decían el remedio, y fuese al duque y mostrole cuántos médicos había hallado en su tierra. Y el duque decía: «¿Has tú dicho la tal medicina al Gonela?» El otro respondía: «Señor, sí». «Pues pagá dos carlines, porque sois médico nuevo en Ferrara». Así querría yo hacer por saber cuántas Celidonias hay en esta tierra

Carla Perugini gives a clue when she says that the Andalusian cleric Francisco Delicado was not an ordinary person whether it be in Rome, Naples, Mantua, Venice, and Sienna. He could have admirers and important protectors, as seen in prologues and dedications of his books and a privilege of 10 years for the printing of his work *El modo de adoperare el legno de India occidentale* granted by Pope Clement VII, who called him "dilectus filius." According to this researcher Francisco Delicado was in the army of Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba, the Great Captain, and his protector was - just as happened with Juan del Encina and Bartolome Torres Naharro - the problematic Bernardino de Carvajal<sup>198</sup>.

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<sup>198</sup> **DELICADO, Francisco** (2004) *La Lozana andaluza*. Edición, introducción y notas de Carla Perugini. Fundación José Manuel Lara, Sevilla, pp. XII-XIII

DELUCIA, DAVID

### 1530 Chess Manuscript Paris/DeLucia

The confusion about Lucena's authorship and even the dating of the Gotinga manuscript (early 16th century) and the Paris/Place manuscript is now considered obsolete. A well-documented work on the matter, which clears any doubts, was done by Joaquín Pérez de Arriaga<sup>199</sup>. Hoping to bring an end to this issue, which incomprehensibly still comes up from time to time in scholarly circles<sup>200</sup>, Garzón made a deep study and added the following<sup>201</sup>:

1. The Gotinga manuscript (beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) and the Paris/Place manuscript (c. 1513) include problems of chess taken in their entirety from *Arte de Ajedrez* (1497), by Lucena. 30 and 28 games respectively.
2. These Chess problems were all formulated according to the modern style, which indicates a time frame where the queen's Chess and the old chess did not seem to coexist any longer. The period of coexistence is marked by Damian's book of 1512.
3. Both texts include new opening rules and the rules existing from the printed book are corrected and updated. For example, in the second rule of the book Lucena offers commentaries in one of the variants that are speckled with errors, one of which even omitted a checkmate. In the manuscripts the entire variant, of which the author couldn't have felt very proud, was eliminated.

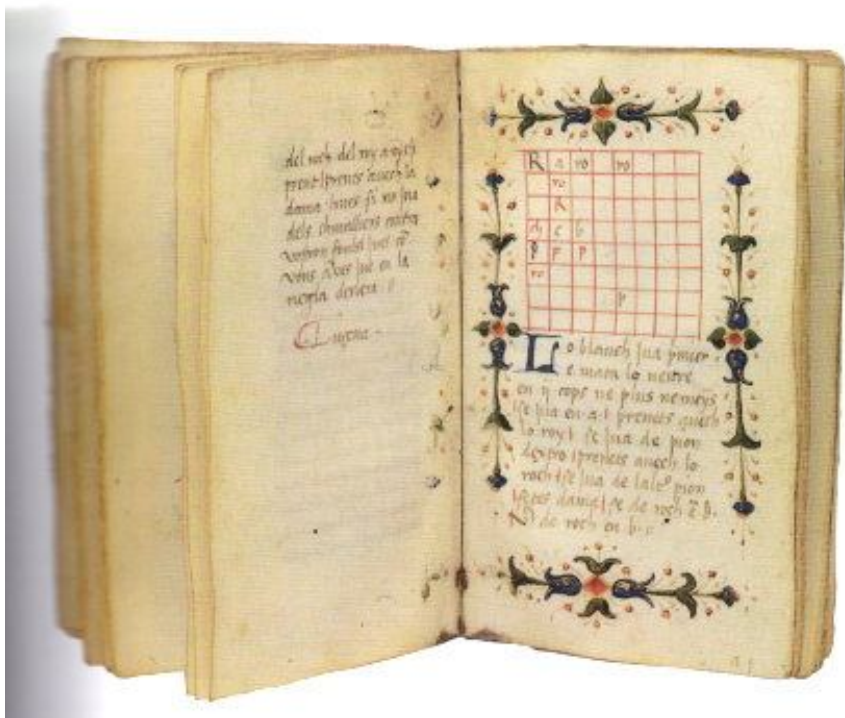
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<sup>199</sup> **PEREZ DE ARRIAGA, Joaquín** (1997). *El incunable de Lucena. Primer Arte de Ajedrez Moderno*. (Ediciones Polifemo. Madrid.

<sup>200</sup> Ricardo Calvo told Garzón that in the Conference of Historians in Amsterdam (2002) a colleague of him still suggested that the Lucena manuscripts were written before *Arte de Ajedrez* and that this idea was not poorly received. As Garzón told Ricardo, there is no longer room for such thinking if a serious study, such as the one Garzón was presenting, is conducted about the manuscripts and Lucena's treatise, in connection with his era and the work of Damian, etc.

<sup>201</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio**. The Definitive Proof of the Valencian Origins of Modern Chess. In: **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2012). *The Origin of the Checkers and Modern Chess Game*. Volume III, pp. 127-128.

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**Manuscript Paris/DeLucia, c. 1530. The final of the 20<sup>th</sup> rule with the signature of Lucena and first match game**

4. In the Paris/Place manuscript, as Pérez de Arriaga pointed out, an opening that appeared for the first time in Damian's book in 1512 is corrected. This led Pérez de Arriaga to believe that the date of the manuscript was around 1515.

5. Of course, in the manuscripts the printing mistakes in the book were corrected. For example, in Lucena's problem I a black pawn decisive in the outcome is printed incorrectly and it is corrected in the manuscripts. Another justification for the chronological succession (and the authorship) stems from the fact that the three collections of problems begin with this very problem, indicating Lucena's fascination by it.

6. By studying the three texts as a whole we can clearly see the evolution of the move known as the King's leap. In the manuscripts the most finished leap, the transposition, is the most common. But there is something even more

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

relevant: in the last manuscript Paris/Place the King is already permitted to jump as a Knight, a move option that would later be favoured by Ruy López (1561).

Since 1991 this manuscript has been in possession of the New York bibliophile David DeLucia<sup>202</sup> and NEBEA<sup>203</sup> thinks that the date of the manuscript was around 1530.

Specialists in handwriting need to find out whether the calligraphy has to do with Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

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<sup>202</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent. The History of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess*. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia, p. 16

<sup>203</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio; ALIÓ, Josep; ARTIGAS, Miquel** (2012) *Nuevo Ensayo de Bibliografía Español de Ajedrez* (NEBEA) 1238 – 1938. Rom Editors.

## EBREO, LEONE

**Judah Leon Abravanel** or **Abrabanel (1465-1523)**, otherwise known as Leone Ebreo (in Italian) and Leo the Hebrew (in English) was a Portuguese Jewish physician, poet, and philosopher. His work *Dialoghi d'amore* (*Dialogues of Love*) was one of the most important philosophical works of his time. He was born of Castilian Jewish heritage in Lisbon, and wrote his most important work in Italian.

### MS "Harley 5423" – *Dialoghi D'Amore*

The pen of Ludovico Vicentino was responsible for what is quite probably the most perfect of manuscripts from the formal point of view. According to the researchers it is MS Harley 5423, now held in the British Library. Arrighi dedicated the work to Aurelia Petrucci<sup>204</sup>. The work was probably created between 1524 and 1527. The manuscript does not have a title<sup>205</sup>, but *Dialoghi d'amore* was a work of Leone Ebreo<sup>206</sup>.

Judah studied in an Italian humanist milieu in Genoa and probably wrote the first two of his *Dialoghi* there. Sources say that he left Genoa for Naples in 1501 and remained there until 1506. While in Naples, Judah (apparently overlooking the injuries of the past) became the doctor of the Spanish viceroy Don Gonzalo of Cordoba, "The Great Captain." *Dialoghi d'amore* appear to have been written around 1501-02. Judah left Naples for Venice, where he devoted himself to the study of philosophy again until 1507. After this time little is known about Judah's life.

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<sup>204</sup> **NELSON NOVOA, James** (2009) *Leone Ebreo's Dialoghi d'amore as a pivotal document*. In: *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance. Sources and Encounters*, University of Haifa, p. 69

<sup>205</sup> **LAW, Vera** (1973) *Two More Arrighi Manuscripts Discovered*, In: *The Book Collector* 27, 3, pp. 370-379

<sup>206</sup> **DIONISOTTI, C.** (1959) *Appunti su Leone Ebreo*, in «Italia medioevale e umanistica», II, 1959, pp. 409-428



## ESTE, ALFONSO D'

### Matteo di Milano working for the House of Este in Ferrara between 1502 and 1512

Matteo da Milano was one of the most important Italian illuminators working in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Originally from Milan, Matteo worked largely in Rome and Ferrara. His wide range of powerful patrons included the Este family of Ferrara, the Medici of Florence, the Orsini of Rome, and the della Rovere, dukes of Urbino. He specialized in making manuscripts for highly ranking ecclesiastics from prominent families, among them Pope Leo X.



**Breviario erculeo (wikipedia)**

His name is connected to the decoration of the illuminated Herculean Breviary (1502), with which also assisted other artists, and which is considered one of the most important works of art of the sixteenth century in Ferrara. The other important work of his period in Ferrara is

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the Book of Hours commissioned by Duke Alfonso I d'Este between 1505 and 1520. In those years Ferrara was living one of the most difficult times in its history: it was at war with Julius II, who had excommunicated Alfonso I and launched an interdict on the city of Ferrara. In fact, the prayer book can be seen as a book of political importance in which Alfonso makes clear his nature as a good Christian in opposition to a pontiff hostile to him.

- Breviary of Ercole I d'Este (1502-1505), Library Estense, Modena.
- Missal of Cardinal Arcimboldi Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo, Milan.
- Book of Hours of Alfonso I d'Este (1505-1520), Library Estense, Modena.

Alfonso I d'Este not only had the Book of Hours prepared for him to demonstrate his loyalty to the Catholic church, but he also arranged to have a chess book of Damiano that in reality was prepared by Francesch Vincent in 1512.

We cannot forget that the Duke of Ferrara had Francesch Vicent at his service to teach the chess game to his wife Lucrecia Borgia<sup>207</sup>. In 1512 the first Duke of Ferrara Alfonso d'Este had a really bad relationships with the Papacy and through the influence and connections of his friend Fabricio Colonna - the same man who helped to escape the Duke in 1512 out of the hands of Pope Julius II – he wanted to be rehabilitated before the future Pope Leo X. To fall sympathetic to the new Pope Leo X, an avid lover of chess, the Duke d'Este used certain tricks.

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<sup>207</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro** (1999) *Il maestro di scacchi spagnolo di Lucrecia Borgia*, In: *L'Italia Scacchistica*, N° 1131, December 1999, pp. 392-393. Cited by **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *El regreso de Francesch Vicent. La historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno*, Generalidad Valenciana. Fundación Jaime II el Just, p. 175

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**Alfonso D'Este**

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Probably, and now we go into the realm of conjectures, he prepared this chess work by Francesch Vicent and dedicated it to the "Gonfalonieri del Popolo di Roma", Giovan Giorgio Cesarini, an important personage linked to the Roman Clergy. The chronics pick up his participation in the coronation of Pope Leo X (11 April 1513) where the same Giorgio Cesarini carried the "Grande Gonfalone Rosso" (it should be some kind of a banner or baderole), with the letters S.P.Q.R. in gold). He was a "personage" who, as says professor Adriano Chicco, could easily favour Damian<sup>208</sup> and in this case the same Duke of Ferrara to clean up his name.

In the story of Ludwig von Pastor<sup>209</sup> we see Lucretia Borgia's husband Duke Alfonso d'Este also present at the coronation of Pope Leo X:

The most extensive preparations for the decoration of the streets were made. All that the Rome of Raphael could produce in the way of antiquities and art was made to contribute to the glory of the Medici. The important occasion of the "Possesso," or taking possession of the Church of the Popes, was intended to usher in not only a new era of artistic magnificence, but also that of peace. On the 10th of April, at the request of Bibbiena and of Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, certain censuras pronounced on Duke Alfonso of Ferrara by Julius II were removed, in order that that prince might be able to take part in the solemnity arrayed in all his ducal splendour. The weather smiled on the triumphal procession; and when this had been marshalled by Paris de Grassis, Master of Ceremonies, the Pope appeared. The Duke of Ferrara led his horse, and held the bridle till the Fountain in the Piazza of St. Peter's was reached. There he was relieved by Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, Giovan Maria da Varano, Lord of Camerino, and the Pope's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici. The procession was the most magnificent spectacle which Rome had witnessed since the days of the Emperors. It was headed by two hundred mounted lancers, and the inferior members of the household of the Pope and Cardinals. The bands of musicians who attended these, wearing the Papal livery of white red, and green, with the Medici badge on their breasts, were a brilliant sight. Then followed the standards of the twelve Papal cursori and the thirteen representatives of the Rioni, and the banner of the University, with its device of a flame-coloured cherub. The great red standard of Rome, with its golden letters S.P.Q.R. (Senatus Populusque Romanus) was borne by Giovan

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<sup>208</sup> **CHICCO, Adriano y ROSINO, Antonio** (1990) *Storia degli scacchi in Italia*. Venezia, Marsilio Editori, p. 69

<sup>209</sup> **PASTOR, Ludwig von** (1911) *Historia de los Papas*. Vol. VII, pp. 36-38

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Giorgio Cesarini. With him ranked the Procurator of the Teutonic Order of Knights, carrying their white banner surmounted by a black cross; the Prior of the Knights of St. John with the banner of the Order – red silk with a white cross. The banner of the Captain-General followed, and, last of all, the Gonfaloniere of the Church.

Then came the Papal Marshal, with nine white horses and three white mules, with red trappings embroidered in gold; the Master of the Horse, clad in red, and the numerous chamberlains of honour, two of whom carried the mitre, set with pearls and precious stones, and two others the tiara, decorated with priceless gems. The brilliant group of knights of the Roman and Florentine nobility, recalled the mediaeval history of Italy.

Even initially I thought that Francesch Vicent, Lucena, and Damian were the same person, but deep investigations by Garzón showed that these three people could never be the same person. According to Garzón it deals with two authors, as reflected by the cover of the 1524 edition: a humanist and a religious person. The technical part comes mainly from Francesch Vicent and the final execution, probably with the help of a Spanish-Portuguese Jewish physician or churchman<sup>210</sup>.

Coming back to the Fitzwilliam museum, they think that the manuscript of the Book of Hours is from about 1520 and gives the following information<sup>211</sup>:

The manuscript was illuminated by Matteo da Milano (doc. 1502–c.1525), who began his career in Milan, but executed his most sumptuous works for the Este court in Ferrara between 1502 and 1512, and for distinguished members of the Roman curia until c.1525 (Alexander 1991; Alexander 1992b; Lollini in Bollati 2004, 742-46; see cat. XXX, cat. XXX). It represents the late stage of his career and is particularly close in iconography and style to two Missals illuminated in Rome, one for a member of the Orsini family (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 87 / 2004.65) and another for Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, the future Pope Clement VII (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 D 17). The Fitzwilliam Hours was copied by the leading Renaissance

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<sup>210</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *Vicent y Damiano, La expansión del ajedrez moderno en Italia. El misterio del tratado de 1512*. In: *El regreso de Francesch Vicent. La historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno*, Generalidad Valenciana. Fundación Jaime II el Just, pp. 458-478

<sup>211</sup> <http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/176363>

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

scribe and typographer Ludovico degli Arrighi of Vicenza (1475-1527), who was working at the papal chancery by 1515. He collaborated with Matteo da Milano on at least two other manuscripts, a copy of Aristotle's Ethics written in Rome in 1517 for Vittoria Colonna (Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS XV D 6) and the Berlin Missal<sup>212</sup> of Cardinal Giulio dei Medici (now in Berlin, signed and dated 1520.



**Ethica, folio 150V°**  
**Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS XV D 6**

<sup>212</sup> **REISS, Sheryl E.** (1991). (Cardinal Giulio de 'Medici's 1520 Berlin Missal and other works by Matteo da Milano. In: Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, 33. Bd., pp 107-128.

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This manuscript of the Book of Hours was probably not written in 1520, but later than 1512. In the colophon of his manuscript *Ethica* Arrighi announced that his writing was completed in October 1517<sup>213</sup>.

Interesting is to see the strong collaboration between Ludovico Vicentino and Matteo di Milano after 1512.

To celebrate the ascent to the throne of S. Peter in 1513 the humanist Giovanni Francesco Philomusus composed an Exultatio<sup>214</sup> for Leo the Tenth, which was transcribed by the famous scribe Ludovico Arrighi<sup>215</sup> in a code stored in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze (Plut. 35.43), decorated by M(atteo di Milano) in the initial paper 1r.

Philomusus had casually predicted<sup>216</sup> nearly a quarter of a century before; "What joy," cried the farseeing bard, "will so high an honour afford your beloved parent and what verses will Apollo inspire me to write in commemoration of the event!"

Eximiumque caput sacra redimire thyra  
Pontificis summi; proh gaudia quanta parenti  
Tum dabis, et quantis mihi tum spirabit Apollo!

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<sup>213</sup> **BIEMANS, Jos A.A.M.** (1996-1997) Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, Hs. XV D6. In: De Boekenwereld, jaargang 12, p. 84

<sup>214</sup> **ROSCOE, William** (1805) *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth*: In Four Volumes, Volume 2, Appendix, pp. 33-38

<sup>215</sup> **BUSSI, Dillon** (1996-1997) Una serie di ritratti miniati per Leone X e un poscritto di novità su M. da M. e sul libro in epoca leonina, in Riv. di storia della miniatura, I-II, pp. 17-33. Citation on p. 29

<sup>216</sup> **VAUGHAN, Herbert M.** (1908) *The Medici Popes*, p. 111





**Book of hours; type of text use of Rome; liturgical use**  
<http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/176363>



With regards to the Berlin Missal, the work is signed and dated on page 404v “Sedente Leone X. Pont. Maximo/Ludouicus Vicentinus Scriebat Romae An. Sal. MDXX”<sup>217</sup>. Arrighi made another manuscript dedicated to Cardinal Giulio which was a 1519 Latin transcription of Lucian's *Dialoghi Maritimi* preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana<sup>218</sup>.

Alfonso I d'Este had a sister Isabella d'Este who married Francesco Gonzaga II of Mantua at the age of sixteen in 1490. She is another prominent Quattrocento woman who was famous for her contacts with humanists and her art patronage. The *Book of Hours* written by the skilled scribe Bartolome Sanvito, in which prayers for Isabella appear, is thought to have been owned by her<sup>219</sup>.

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<sup>217</sup> **REISS, Sheryl, E.** (2000) *Cardinal Giulio de Medici's 1520 Missal and Other Works by Matteo da Milano*. In: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 33, Bd., pp. 107-128. Citation on p. 113

<sup>218</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 5802. See:

**FAIRBANK, A.** (1971) *Another Arrighi's Manuscript Discovered*, In: *The Book Collector*, 20, pp. 332-334.

**MORELLO, G.** (1985) *Raffaello e la Roma dei Papa*, ex. Cat., Rome, p. 76

<sup>219</sup> **GETSMAN, Elina & STEVENSON, Jill** (2012) *Threshold of Medieval Visual Culture: Limanal Spaces*, p. 162.

## ESTE, ISABELLA D'

Gillet let us know that “*Diuiua*, the lady of the Castle in *Jacinta*, may well represent Isabella d'Este, whom the dramatist may have known personally and in whose library there was a presentation copy of the *Propalladia*”<sup>220</sup>.

What seems beyond historians' doubt is that Torres Naharro wrote *Jacinta* in honour of Isabella d'Este during her trip to Naples and Rome in 1514 and 1515<sup>221</sup>. As Oleza pointed out, the possibility that Torres Naharro accompanied Isabel to Naples seems very likely, because in the Prohemia of *Propalladia* he clearly says that he liked to travel and see the world. S. di Branca Tedallini<sup>222</sup> recorded in his Roman Journal (1485-1524) in October 1514 that Isabel was in Rome during autumn and winter of 1514-1515 as a guest of Pope Leo X:

Venne la moglie dello Duca de Mantua in Roma et stette in Roma un mese, et poi andéne in Napoli; gli fu fatto grande honore, come se fussi stata la moglie dello re di Francia.

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<sup>220</sup> GILLET, Joseph E. (1961) *Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*. Volume Four. Torres Naharro and the drama of the Renaissance. Transcribed, edited, and completed by Otis H. Green. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 298

<sup>221</sup> GILMAN, Stephen (1963-1964) Retratos de conversos en la comedia *Jacina* de Torres Naharro. In: Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XVII, págs. 20-39. Citation on p. 23

WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, J.P. (1937) *Two Notes on the Play of Torres Naharro*. In: Hispanic Review, volume V, January, issue 1, pp. 76-78

<sup>222</sup> A cura di Paolo Piccolomini. *En Rerum Italianarum Scriptores*, vol XXIII, 3. Cited by OLEZA, Joan (2004) *En torno a los últimos años de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*. In: P. Garelli e G. Marchetti, eds. Un “Hombre de bien”. *Saggi di lingue e letterature iberiche in onore di Rinaldo Froldi*. Alessandria. Edizioni dell’Orso, pp. 233-248.

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Pérez Priego has also thoroughly studied the wanderings of Isabella d'Este and the proof is his finding that Isabella d'Este, like Fernando de Rojas<sup>223</sup>, had the work *Propalladia* in her library<sup>224</sup>:

She surrounded herself with a court of writers and artists, Mario Ecquicola stood out from the rest, he was her secretary and tutor since 1508. From her correspondence it is known that she was also a big theater aficionado, this passion was probably gained in Ferrara's court. From this place she inherited her interest for Latin theater and Plauto's<sup>225</sup> comedies; she also liked the dramatic courtesans' eclogues and the *sacre rappresentazioni*. Being such a bustling and thoughtful person, it was not rare at all that she would have been interested in Naharro's Theater and that on a favourable occasion he would have tried to pamper her. What we are certain of is that in her library she had a copy of the *Propalladia*<sup>226</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> VALLE LERSUNDI, Fernando del (1929) *Testamento de Fernando de Rojas, autor de la Celestina*. In: Revista de Filología Española, 1929-XVI, pp. 366-388. Citation on p. 381

<sup>224</sup> PÉREZ PRIEGO, Miguel Ángel (2004) *El teatro en el Renacimiento*, p. 48

<sup>225</sup> GRISMER, Raymond L. (1940) *Reminiscence of Plautus in the Comedias of Torres Naharro*. In: Hispanic Review, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January, 1940), pp. 57-58

<sup>226</sup> LUZIO, A. Y RENIER, R. (1903). La coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga. Turín, E. Loscher. p. 435. Citado por PÉREZ PRIEGO, Miguel Ángel (2004). *El teatro en el Renacimiento*, p. 48



**Isabella D'Este**

## FABIO CALVO, MARCO

Marco Fabio Calvo (Ravenna, 1450 - Rome, 1527) was an Italian philologist. As humanist he had broad interests in various matters, ranging from literature to medicine and coins. He was a collaborator and friend of Raphael by whom he was entrusted with the translation of the treatise *De architectura Vitruvius*.

Vincenzo Fontana gives very suggestive reconstructions of the evens of Fabio Calvo's translation<sup>227</sup>, in which we noted that Ludovico Vicentino was a friend of Fabio Calvo's

"(...) Raffaello ha ricevuto il "Vitruvio vulgare" del Calvo in bella copia, scritto (assai probabilmente in "lettera cancelleresca", cioè in corsivo cinquecentesco da Ludovico Vicentino, teorico di calligrafia, amico del Calvo, di cui stamperà la prima edizione del Simulachrum, e probabilmente da lui scelto ora non solo come scrivano, ma anche come tipografo. Questa redazione definitiva, rispetto alla quale il codice da noi studiato costituiva forse la fase di lavoro immediatamente precedente, non `giunta fino a noi o comunque non è estat mai conosciuta (...)"

Clough's<sup>228</sup> ideas are also going in the same direction, but Clough also mentions another name - Machiavelli.

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<sup>227</sup> **FONTANA, Vincenzo** (1975) Raffaello e Vitruvio. In: **FONTANA, Vincenzo y MORACHIELLO, Paolo**: Vitruvio e Raffaello. Il "De Architectura" di Vitruvio nella traduzione inedita di Fabio Calvo Ravennate, Roma, Officina Edizioni, pp. 30-31. Cited by **RIELLO VELAZCO, José María** (2004) *Sombra de un sueño. Alberti, Rafael y la política arqueológica del Papado entre dos siglos*. In: *Anales de Historia del Arte*, issue 14, pp. 121-141

<sup>228</sup> **CLOUGH, Cecil H.** (1973) *Ludovico degli Arrighi's Contact with Raphael and Machiavelli*, In: *Bibliofilia*, Number 75, pp. 293-208

Considers the professional relationship of Arrighi – a calligrapher, publisher, and printer – with Raphael and Machiavelli, concluding that Machiavelli's choice of Arrighi, who specialized in fine quality limited editions, to print *The Prince* in 1527 illustrates his desire to present the work in an impressive, elegant format. Includes reproductions of two of Raphael's letters (1508; 1514) and of Fabio Calvo's translation of Vitruvius (MS. Ital. 37, f. 273v, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1514) for which Arrighi may have been employed as a copyist. Cited by **RUFFO**

## FELTRIA DE CAMPOFREGOSO, AGNESINA

In 1510 a ten-year privilege was granted to Ludovico di Varthema and his heirs for his *Itinerario* which was printed by Stephano Guillereti in collaboration with Hercole Nani at the expense of Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino. Researchers think that Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino<sup>229</sup> was the same person as Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi. The book was printed on 6 December 1510 in Rome and dedicated to Agnesina Feltria with a preface to her daughter Vittoria Colonna.

It should be observed that Fernando de Rojas had this book in his collection.

Agnesina Montefeltro was married to Fabricio Colonna. The father of Lucena had Próspero Colonna as a protector. Bartolomé Torres Naharro (Lucena) was in 1517 with the daughter of Agnesina Feltria, Vittoria Colonna and the Marquis of Pescara. On the other hand we noted that Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi made a calligraphic book for Vittoria Colonna in the same period.

The name of Gentile Feltria, Agnesina Feltria's sister, was involved in the preparation of something new - this time it is her son Federico. In this case it deals with a manuscript on a chess poem in Latin. This is a proof that this family liked innovation. I am obviously referring to the year 1507 when Vida began with the work of Federico Fregoso at instances of Federico Fregoso. There's no doubt that Federico Fregoso knew Francesch Vicent (Lucena) who was in 1506 in the service of Lucrezia Borgia in Ferrara as chess master.

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**FIORE, Silvia** (1990) Niccolò Machiavelli: An annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism and Scholarship, p. 379

<sup>229</sup>**LACH, Donald F.** (1994) Asia in Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder. Book 2, p. 198

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***Itinerario* by Ludovico degli Arrighi, 1510  
(Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale)**

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

**Family relation of Agnesina Feltria with Vittoria Colonna as from 30 December 1501 and persons (in black) who are found in *The Book of the Courtier* of Baltasar Castiglione.**

Federico de Montefeltro (1422-1482) x Battista Sforza Duke of Urbino 11 Children, between them:		
<b>1. Guidobaldo</b> (1472-1508) III Duke of Urbino <b>Elisabetta Gonzaga</b> (1471-1526)  Guidobaldo was family of Lucrecia Borgia  The brother of Isabel de Gonzaga was:  Francisco Gonzaga (1466-1519) Married with Isabel del Este (1474-1539) Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550) Federico Gonzaga (1500 – 1540)	<b>2. Illegitimate daughter</b> <b>Gentile Feltría</b> (1458-1529) First marriage in 1464 Gerolamo Malatesta (d. in 1465) Second marriage 1466 Agostino Fregoso (1443-1487) Children: <b>Ottavino (1470-1524)</b> Ludovico (1471-1513) <b>Constanza</b> <b>(1472-1532)</b> Beatrice (1473-1516) Simonetto (1475-1530) Battista (1478-1515) <b>Federico (1480-1541)</b> Catarina (1482-1541)	<b>3. Juana</b> (1463-1514) Giovanni della Rovere d'Aragona (1457-1501) Children: María Giovanna (1486-1538) Beatrice (1488-1505) Girolamo (1487-1492)  <b>Francesco María</b> <b>della Rovere</b> (1490-1538) Child, adopted by Guidobaldo de Montefeltro Married with Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550)
<b>4. Agnesina</b> (1470-1506) Fabrizio Colonna (1460-1520) Children: Vitoria Colonna Fernando de Ávalos Marqués de Pescara (1490-1525)  Ascario Colonna		



## FELTRIA DE CAMPOFREGOSO, GENTILE

It was Gentile Feltria, widow of Agostino Fregoso, who invited Alonso Ordóñez, member of Pope Julius II, to translate the *Tragicomedia* into Italian. She was the sister of Guidobaldo de Montefeltro (1472-1508), the duke of Urbino<sup>230</sup>. Gentile Feltria's sister Agnesina Montefeltro was married to Fabricio Colonna. Lucena's father Juan Ramirez de Lucena had Próspero Colonna as protector. Bartolomé Torres Naharro (Lucena) was in 1517 with Vittoria Colonna and the Marquis of Pescara. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi made a calligraphic book for Vittoria Colonna in the same period.

Gentile Feltria was the mother of Federico Fregoso, who was involved in the preparation of a manuscript on a chess poem in Latin. He was a friend of Castiglione and Bembo<sup>231</sup>. Bembo<sup>232</sup> was between 1502 and 1503 in the service of Lucrezia Borgia and between 1506-1512 he was with Guidobaldo da Montefeltro and his wife Elisabetta Gonzaga in the court of Urbino. In those years they should have known Francesch Vicent, Lucretia Borgia's chessmaster. On the other hand Baldassarre Castiglione lived in the court of Urbino with Duke Guidobaldo di Montefeltro and his wife Elisabetta Gonzaga between 1504 and 1506<sup>233</sup>.

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<sup>230</sup> **PAOLINI, Devid** (2011) *Madonna Gentile Feltria de Campogregoso, Alphonso Hordognez y la traducción italiana de La Celestina*. In: eHumanista, Volume 19, pp. 260-295

<sup>231</sup> **OSBORNE, June & CORNISH, Joe** (2003) *Urbino: The Story of a Renaissance City*, p. 157

**CASTIGLIONE, Baldassarre & BAUDI DI VESME, Carlo** (1854) *Il Cortegiano*, Firenze, Felice Le Monnier. Volume I, p. 322

<sup>232</sup> More about Bembo in: **CLOUGH, Cecil H.** (1965) *Pietro Bembo's Library Represented in the British Museum*. In: The British Museum Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 1 / 2 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 3-17

<sup>233</sup> **RODRÍGUEZ VALENCIA, Vicente** (1970) *Isabel la Católica en la opinión de españoles y extranjeros*. Siglos XV al XX. Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica. Valladolid, p. 216

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<b>4. Agnesina</b> (1470-1506) Fabrizio Colonna (1460-1520) Children: Vitoria Colonna Fernando de Ávalos Marqués de Pescara (1490-1525)  Ascario Colonna		

## FERRERI, ZACCARIA

Zaccaria Ferreri (1479–1524) was an Italian monk and papal legate, Latin poet, and ecclesiastical writer.

Ferreri was born in Vicenza to a noble family. As a student in Padua he became a Benedictine monk at the Abbey of Monte Cassino. However, at the age of 25 he left the monastery and moved to Rome. He finished his education receiving master's degrees in law and theology. He served Pope Julius II, but soon joined the ranks of his opponents where he was under Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal, and attended the Conciliabulum of Pisa in 1511. His skills as a historian and publicist allowed him to emerge now as the leading theologian of the reformist front. For these activities he was excommunicated in 1513. He made peace with the new Pope Leo X and was tasked with preparing a new, shorter and more convenient edition of the breviary.

In 1518 he became titular Bishop of Sebaste in Cilicia and was nominated to become Bishop of Guardialfiera. He refused the nomination, but kept the title and rights. In 1520–1521 he was sent as a papal legate to the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In Poland he mediated a truce in the Polish–Teutonic War (1519–21) and campaigned against the spread of Lutheranism. In Lithuania he investigated evidence of the canonization of Saint Casimir. His planned journey to the Grand Duchy of Moscow was cancelled. He returned to Rome and continued working on the breviary. This work was finished and published after his death by Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi<sup>234</sup>.

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<sup>234</sup> **FERRARI, Zaccaria** (1996) *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* - Volume 46

## **FIRENZUOLA, AGNOLO**

Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543) was born in Florence. The family name was taken from the family's original home - the town of Firenzuola, situated at the foot of the Apennines. Agnolo's grandfather had obtained the citizenship of Florence and transmitted it to his family. Agnolo was destined for the legal profession, and pursued his studies first at Siena and then at Perugia.



**Agnolo Firenzuola**

In Perugia he became the associate of the notorious Pietro Aretino, whose foul life he was not ashamed to make a model for his own. They met again in Rome, where Agnolo practised the advocate's profession for a time, but with little success. There he was influenced by the literary circles of popes Leo X and Clement VII 1518-1522. In this period he had contacts with Bembo, Molza, Aretino, and Della

Casa and frequently saw a woman whom he identified as Costanza Amaretta. In 1525 Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed his work *Discacciamento de le nuove lettere inutilmente aggiunte ne la lingua toscana*. Firenzuola had envisioned in this work that the spoken language of familiar popular usage breaks into the formal contrived comedies and retains the linguistic synthesis<sup>235</sup>.

Around 1523 Agnolo Firenzuola wrote a reinterpreted version of *L'Asino d'oro* (The Golden Donkey). His work was written in the Tuscan literary language and first published in 1550. Since Leonor Álvarez, the wife of Fernando de Rojas, had in her possession the book of *El Asino de oro* (printed in 1513 or 1543), the question arises of who gave the translated text to whom. Was it Lucena who gave his translated version of 1513 to Agnolo Firenzuola or was it Agnolo Firenzuola who gave his reinterpreted version of 1523 to Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (Lucena)? It seems logical to suppose that Lucena gave his book to Agnolo Firenzuola.

The book *Lucio Apuleyo del Asino de oro* is attributed by all scholars to Diego López de Cortegana (1455-1524). According to Menendez Pelayo<sup>236</sup> the Latin book was translated by the archdeacon of Seville Diego Lopez de Cortegana. This conclusion was reached thanks to careful consideration of the Latin verses contained at the end of the volume, p. 103b:

**Cor** durum tygris hidra aut hircana colubris  
**Tentant** huius cui fabula nulla placet,  
**Ganit** nulla quidem eius pars pietatis in aurem  
**Natus** et in silvis trux garamanta fuit.

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<sup>235</sup> **DÍAZ, Sara Elena** (2007) Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543). Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies, New York, p. 731

<sup>236</sup> **MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1950) *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica*. 10 vols. Madrid, CSIC, Volume I, p. 86. Cited by **CALERO, Francisco** (2009) *El Asino de oro* de Apuleyo, el *Lazarillo* y Vives: reconcimiento a Antonio Vilanova. In: *Espéculo. Revista de estudios literarios*. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, núm 43

<http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero43/apuvives.html>

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

However, it seems to be that Diego Lopez de Cortegana has nothing to do with this translation. Nor was Luis Vives involved in this translation, as observed by Francisco Calero.

This again seems to be much more of a joke of Lucena's who wants to stay in the shade and mislead readers with his acrostic. Similar acrostics we observe in *La Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, *Repeticion de amores y Arte de Ajedrez* as well as in *La Celestina* of 1542.

### **Lucio Apuleyo del Asino de oro**

Lucena used in his text of the abovementioned book of 1513 an acrostic in the same way as was the case in the book of Sancho de Muñón and his Tragicomedia *Lysandro y Roselia* (1542), so that one cannot believe that the author was Diego López de Cortegana. On the other hand Lucena knew Agnolo Firenzuola, the author of *L'Asino d'oro* (The Golden Donkey) in the Tuscan language, because he printed his book *Discacciamento de le nuove lettere inutilmente aggiunte ne la lingua toscana* for him.

## FREGOSO, FEDERICO

Quite interesting is what Murray<sup>237</sup> says about Federico Fregoso, the son of Gentile Feltria, with regards to Marco Gerolamo Vida:

In the opening lines Vida tells how he has written this poem, on a subject never before attempted by the poets, at the instance of (Federico) Fregoso (Born in Genoa c. 1480, Cardinal 1539, Died 1541), and he expresses the hope that it may afford some relaxation to (Giuliano) de Medici in the heavy task which he and his brother (Giovanni, later Pope Leo X, a keen chess player)<sup>238</sup> had undertaken in repelling the French invaders of Italy.



**Frederico Fregoso**

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<sup>237</sup> Cf. P. Jovius, Ep. Nucrinus, *De vita Leonis X*, iv. 86 “Latrunculos autem adeo subtiliter et acute vel cum exercitatissimis colludebat, ut nemo ei vel peritia vel celeritate committendi conficidiendique proeli aequari posse videretur”. Cited by **MURRAY, H. J. R.** (1913) *A History of Chess*, p. 791

<sup>238</sup> **MURRAY, H. J. R.** (1913) *A History of Chess*, pp. 790-791

# **Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina**

Marco Gerolamo Vida was a major Italian poet and scholar who apparently began in 1507 to write a Latin manuscript of *Scaccia Ludus* or *De ludo scaccorum* which ended in 1510, and Murray<sup>239</sup> tells us that in 1525 a work was published with a poem of 742 lines under the title *Liber Scacchorum* without permission of the author, who then made a publication in 1527. This was done by Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

**Family relation of Gentile Feltria with Federico Fregoso as from 30 December 1501 and persons (in black) who are found in *The book of the Courtier* of Baltasar Castiglione.**

Federico de Montefeltro (1422-1482) x Battista Sforza Duque de Urbino Tuvo 11 hijos, entre ellos:		
<b>1. Guidobaldo</b> (1472-1508) III Duque de Urbino <b>Elisabetta Gonzaga</b> (1471-1526)  Guidobaldo era familiar de Lucrecia Borgia  El hermano de Isabel De Gonzaga era:  Francisco Gonzaga (1466-1519) Casado con Isabel del Este (1474-1539) Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550) Federico Gonzaga (1500 – 1540)	<b>2. Hija ilegítima</b> Gentile Feltria (1458-1529) Primer matrimonio en 1464 Gerolamo Malatesta (fallecido en 1465) Segundo matrimonio 1466 Agostino Fregoso (1443-1487) Hijos: <b>Ottavino (1470-1524)</b> Ludovico (1471-1513) <b>Constanza</b> <b>(1472-1532)</b> Beatrice (1473-1516) Simonetto (1475-1530) Battista (1478-1515) <b>Federico (1480-1541)</b> Catarina (1482-1541)	<b>3. Juana</b> (1463-1514) Giovanni della Rovere d’Aragona (1457-1501) Hijos: María Giovanna (1486-1538) Beatrice (1488-1505) Girolamo (1487-1492)  <b>Francesco María</b> <b>della Rovere</b> (1490-1538) Hijo adaptado por Guidobaldo de Montefeltro Se casa con Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550)

<sup>239</sup> **MURRAY, H. J. R.** (1913) *A History of Chess*, p. 790



## FREGOSO, OTTAVINO

Family relation of Gentile Feltria with Ottavino Fregoso as from 30 December 1501 and persons (in black) who are found in *The book of the Courtier* of Baltasar Castiglione.

Federico de Montefeltro (1422-1482) x Battista Sforza Duke of Urbino 11 Children, between them:		
<b>1. Guidobaldo</b> (1472-1508) III Duke of Urbino <b>Elisabetta Gonzaga</b> (1471-1526)  Guidobaldo was family of Lucrecia Borgia  The brother of Isabel de Gonzaga was:  Francisco Gonzaga (1466-1519) Married with Isabel del Este (1474-1539) Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550) Federico Gonzaga (1500 – 1540)	<b>2. Illegitimate daughter</b> <b>Gentile Feltría</b> (1458-1529) First marriage in 1464 Gerolamo Malatesta (d. in 1465) Second marriage 1466 Agostino Fregoso (1443-1487) Children: <b>Ottavino (1470-1524)</b> Ludovico (1471-1513) <b>Constanza</b> <b>(1472-1532)</b> Beatrice (1473-1516) Simonetto (1475-1530) Battista (1478-1515) <b>Federico (1480-1541)</b> Catarina (1482-1541)	<b>3. Juana</b> (1463-1514) Giovanni della Rovere d'Aragona (1457-1501) Children: Maria Giovanna (1486-1538) Beatrice (1488-1505) Girolamo (1487-1492)  <b>Francesco María</b> <b>della Rovere</b> (1490-1538) Child, adopted by Guidobaldo de Montefeltro Married with Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550)

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi wrote to him:

Catholic Church. Pope, 1513-1521 (Leo X). *Letter, 1517 Mar. 27*, Rome, to Ottaviano Fregoso, Doge of Genoa. [Genoa?] 1 leaf. (29 lines). Manuscript written by Ludovico degli Arrighi at Rome in a chancery script on parchment, signed by Jacopo Sadoletto as Papal Secretary. RARE RES D221 .C3L4 1517

## FUSCANO, GIOVAN BERNARDINO

There is some information about the life of this minor poet of the sixteenth century<sup>240</sup>. Fuscano traveled especially between Naples, Rome, and Venice. During his many travels Fuscano attended cultural circles of the papal court, but also the poet Vittoria Colonna Ischia and Constance D'Avalos, Princess of Francavilla. In poetry Fuscano was inspired mainly by Petrarch and Dante.

Pedro Azara tells us that «the divine wrath, as announced by him, is a concept originating from the poetic field. Marsilio Ficino in the 15th century and Giovanni Bernardino Fuscano during the first half of the 16th century are two of the main authors who focus the discussion and describe the parts of the soul affected by the anger and the effects that causes its appearance in poetic creation<sup>241</sup>.

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed two of his books in 1524.

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<sup>240</sup> **ADDESSO, Cristina Anna** (2005). Le Stanze del Fuscano sovra la bellezza di Napoli. Dissertation. Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II. Dipartimento di Filologia moderna.

<sup>241</sup> **AZARA, Pedro** (1983-1986) *Furor Divino. Contribución a la historia de la teoría del arte*. (Análisis de la evolución del concepto de furor divino en relación con las facultades del alma, en la tratadística, del Renacimiento al Barroco). Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona, p. 33

See also: **BRUNI, Raoul** (2008) *Il divino entusiasmo del poeta: Ricerche sulla storia di un tópos*. Università degli Studi di Padova, Dipartimento di Italianistica. (Dissertation), p. 105

## GIROLAMO VIDA, MARCO

Marco Girolamo Vida or Marcus Hieronymus Vida (1485? – September 27, 1566) was an Italian humanist, bishop, and poet. Born at Cremona, Vida joined the court of Pope Leo X and was given a prior at Frascati. He became bishop of Alba in 1532.

Vida wrote a considerable amount of Latin poetry, both secular and sacred, in classical style, in particular the style of Virgil. Among his best-known works are the didactic poem in three books, *De arte poetica* (On the Art of Poetry), partly inspired by Horace, and *Scacchia Ludus* ("The Game of Chess"), translated into many languages over the centuries. Both poems were published in 1527. It should be noted that it was Federico Fregoso who gave instructions to Vida in 1507 to prepare a chess poem. Strangely enough, an unauthorized version of *Scacchorum* was published in Florencia in 1525.

The book of Vida is a very good copy of a rare and important work in the canon of Chess books and in the history of Italian printing. It is printed in Arrighi's last cursive type acquired from Antonio Blado around 1527 and is the last production signed by Arrighi.

Arrighi printed the poems of Marco Girolamo Vida, in which a new type made its first appearance. This was another Chancery Cursive, heavier but, because more restrained, its character possesses a note of vigour absent from the *Coryciana* type from three years earlier<sup>242</sup>.

Vida's poem *De Ludo Scacchorum* describes in Virgilian Latin a game of chess played between Apollo and Mercury in the presence of the other Gods. Up until this point it had only appeared in a pirated edition.

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<sup>242</sup> MORISON, Stanley & McKITTERICK, Davi John (2009). *Selected Essays on the History of Letter-forms in Manuscripts and Prints*. Cambridge University Press, p. 108.

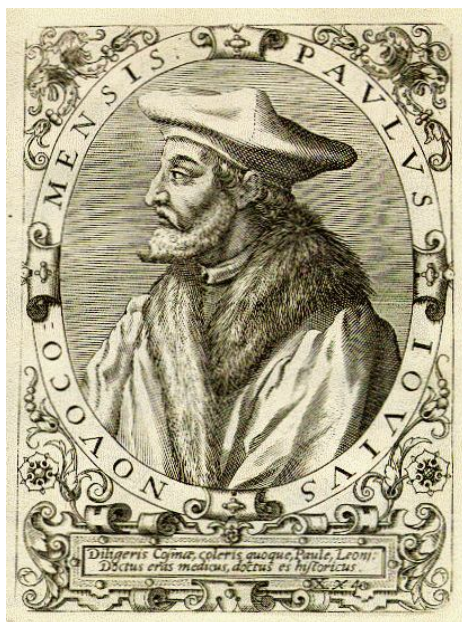
## **Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina**

His major work was the Latin epic poem *Christiados libri sex* ("The Christiad in Six Books") in the style and much of the language of Vergil. He began working on it under Pope Leo X in the 1510s but did not complete it until the early 1530s. It was published in 1535, well after the pope's death.

## GIOVIO, PAULO

Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) was an Italian physician, historian, biographer, and prelate.

He was a native of Como. His father, a notary, died around 1500. He was educated under the direction of his elder brother Francesco, a humanist and historian. Although interested in literature, he was sent to Padua to study medicine. He graduated in 1511. He worked as physician in Como, but after the spread of the plague in the city he moved to Rome, settling there in 1513. Pope Leo X assigned him a cathedra of Moral Philosophy and later that of Natural Philosophy at the Roman university<sup>243</sup>.



Paulo Giovio

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<sup>243</sup> **SCHLAGER, Patricius** (1910) *Paulus Jovius*. In: Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

He wrote Leo's memoir soon after Leo's death. In 1517 he was appointed as personal physician by the Cardinal Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici (the future pope Clement VII). In the field he wrote some treatises, such as the *De optima victus ratione*, in which he expresses his doubts about the current pharmacology and the need to improve prevention before cure. He helped Clement VII during the 1527 sack of Rome. From 1526 to 1528 he stayed on the island of Ischia as Vittoria Colonna's guest<sup>244</sup>.

He is chiefly known as the author of a celebrated work of contemporary history and is best remembered as a chronicler of the Italian Wars. His eyewitness accounts of many of the battles form one of the most significant primary sources for the period. The manuscript *Historiae Sui Temporis: Rome and Florence* was written by Paolo Giovio and Ludovico degli Arrighi. As we have indicated, Paolo Giovio informs that the Marqies of Pescara was a lover of letters<sup>245</sup>.

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<sup>244</sup> ZIMMERMAN, T. C. Price (1995) *Ischia, 1527-1528. Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Princeton University Press, pp. 86–105

<sup>245</sup> GIOVIO, Paoli (1570) *Historia del fortissimo, y prudentissimo Capitan Don Hernando de Aualos Marques de Pescara: con los hechos memorables de otros siete excele[n]tissimos capitanes del Emperador D. Carlos V... / recopilada por el Maestro Valles; con una adiccion hecha por Diego de Fuentes...*, Ánveres, p. 14-15

## GRITTI, ANDREA

Luisa Orioli<sup>246</sup> thought years ago that the “Ilustre Señor” of the *Dedicatoria* of the work *Lozana Andaluza* could have been Andrea Gritti, who was his protector to publish this book in Venice.

On the other hand G. Allegra<sup>247</sup> identified the addressee of the *Dedicatoria* with the Epilogue (probably, Filberto de Châlons, the Prince of Orange). However, this fact has been neglected by Tatiana Bubnova<sup>248</sup>, as there is not even a minute detail that would permit the identification.

We see the same problem with an anonymous illuminated manuscript created in Venice for Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), prior to his third military campaign against the Habsburgs in Hungary and Austria in 1532. Ana Pulido-Rull states in this respect:

The script of the Panegyric is written in a fine, golden-colored Italianate calligraphy; the identification of the author is still pending. In 1978, Vera Law attributed the elegant penmanship of the manuscript to the Vicentine papal scribe and type designer Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (d. 1527), due to the strong resemblance of its Italianate calligraphy to his. In spite of the clear formal similarities between the two handwritings, I find the attribution problematic because the manuscript refers to the period following the Battle of Mohács in 1526, and Arrighi died shortly after the 1527 sack of Rome<sup>249</sup>.

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<sup>246</sup> **DELICADO, Francisco** (1970). *La Lozana Andaluza*, edition Luisa Orioli, Milan: Edizioni Adelfi.

<sup>247</sup> **ALLEGRA, G.** (1973). Pequeña nota sobre el “Ilustre Señor” de la *Lozana Andaluza*: In: *Boletín Real Academia Española*. LIII, pp. 391-397. Citation on pp. 392-393.

<sup>248</sup> **BUBNOVA, Tatania** (1987) F. Delicado puesto en diálogo. Las claves bajtinianas de *La Lozana andaluza*, p. 122

<sup>249</sup> **PULIDO-RULL, Ana** (2012). A pronouncement of alliance: An anonymous illuminated venetian manuscript for Sultan Süleyman. In: *Muqarnas Online*, Volume 29, Issue 1, pp. 101-150.



**Andrea Gritti**  
**Painting of Titian (1490-1576)**



## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

With this information certain things can probably change now, because the Lozana Andaluza could have had Andrea Gritti, the Doge of Venice, as protector from 1523 to 1538. On the other hand Francisco Delicado, alias Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi could have written this manuscript for Andrea Gritti as counterfavour. In such case he did so to reciprocate the help that he received from Andrea Gritti with the publication of the *Lozana Andaluza*.

We must bear in mind that Ludovico Vicentino deglo Arrighi (Francisco Delicado) had top-level contacts with the leading figures in Italy. Consequently he also had a contact with the ambassador Andrea Navagero who was in Spain for four years, including in the village of Martos, returning to Venice in 1528. From Navagero Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi obtained the details about Martos, as we see in the book of *Lozana Andaluza*<sup>250</sup>.

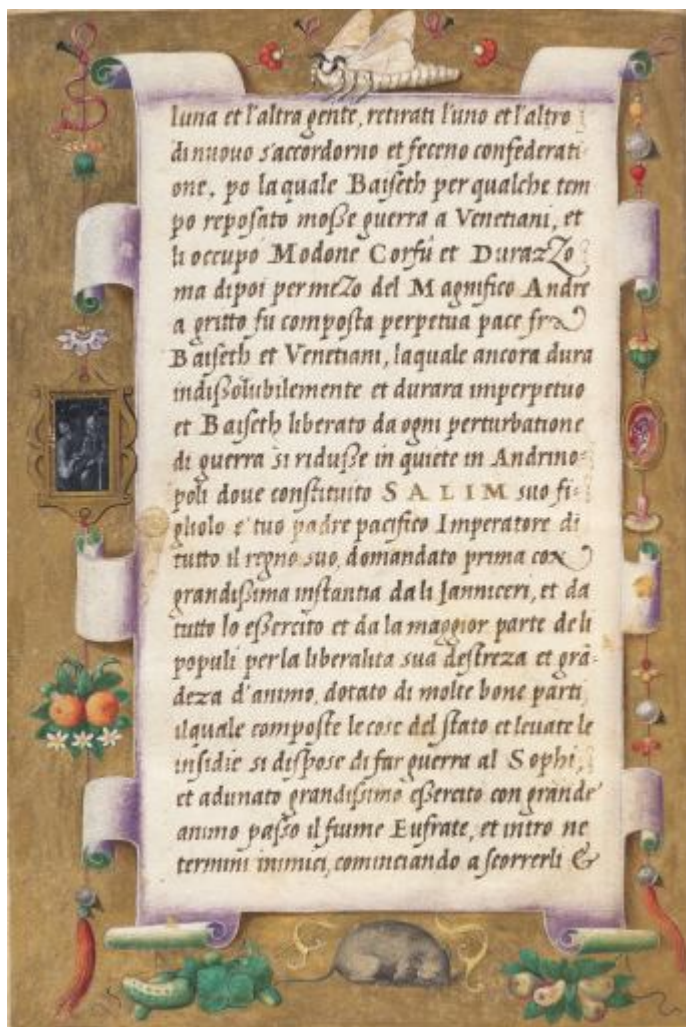
On the other hand Andrea Gritti must already have known Ludovico Vicentino, because Giovanni Giorgio Trissino (1478-1550) addressed a pamphlet with an oration to doge Andrea Gritti on the occasion of his election<sup>251</sup>. The pamphlet in question was printed by Ludovico Vicentino Arrighi in 1524-1525. Trissino worked with Arrighi to develop alternate typographic characters.

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<sup>250</sup> SÁNCHEZ LEÓN, Juan Carlos (2011) *Francisco Delicado y las antigüedades de Martos (1528-1529)* In: Revista de Investigación histórica y Archivística (Jaén) 24, pp. 39-52

<sup>251</sup> TRISSINO, Giovanni Giorgio (1524) *Oratione del Trissino Al Serenissimo [M. Andrea Gritti] Principe di Venetia*. Rome: Lodovico degl'Arrighi

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Folio of an anonymous Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman.  
Houghton Library, Harvard University.  
(Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

## HERNÁNDEZ ALEMÁN, ALONSO

Jacobo Cromberger printed the *Crónica del noble caballero Guarino Mezquino* in Seville in 1512. The Italian book was translated by Alonso Hernández Alemán, a personage of whom we do not have a biography. Other editions were from Juan Varela de Salamanca in Seville, 1527, and from Andrés de Burgos in Seville, 1548.

Guarino Mezquino is an Italian chivalry book written by the Florentine master Andrea da Barberino and printed various times in Italy. One of the editions of this book was in the possession of Fernando de Rojas, according to his testament of 1541. JGAAP detects the fingerprint of Lucena in the work, whereby doubts increase about the real existence of a translator called Alonso Hernández Alemán.

Andrea Mangiabotti, called Andrea da Barberino (c. 1370–1431), was an Italian writer. He is principally known for his prose romance *Il Guerrin Meschino*. His works, which circulated at first in manuscript, were extremely successful and popular, and were a key source of material for later Italian romance writers, such as Luigi Pulci (*Morgante*), Matteo Maria Boiardo (*Orlando Innamorato*), and Ludovico Ariosto (*Orlando Furioso*).

**LOPEZ DE CARVAJAL, Bernardino**

With respect to the work *La Propalladia* there exists a loose copy of *Tinelaria's*<sup>252</sup> comedy in Oporto, with the added date of 1516. The date when it was printed is uncertain. On the other hand it is known that it was between 1513 and 1517. The comedy had been cited in front of Pope Leo X and Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, the boss of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro. The literary work has an dedicatory for the cardinal of Santa Cruz Bernandino de Caravajal<sup>253</sup>.

Acuerdome que después de recitada esta  
Comedia Tinelaria a la San D.N.S. e a  
monseñor Reverend d. Medicis patrón mío.  
V.S. Reueren qso verla y después de  
vista: me mando q'entodo caso le dicesse  
la copia della. Trasdesto me demando  
la causa porq'no dexaua estampar lo que  
screuia (*Proemio*, vol. I, plate 34).

Considering the fact that Cardinal Carvajal was not affected by Torres Navarro's comedy, the great friendship between them is obvious.

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<sup>252</sup> GILLET, Joseph E. (1923). The original version of Torres Naharro's Comedia Tinellaria. In: *Romanic Review*, XV, págs. 265-275.

<sup>253</sup> ZIMIC, Stanislav (1977) *El pensamiento humanístico y satírico de Torres Naharro*. Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, Santander. Dos Tomos. Tomo I, p. 224

To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés



**Bernardino López de Carvajal**  
**Università di Bologna,**

## LUCENA – MS GÖTTINGEN

### 1505-1515 the Göttingen Chess Manuscript

The *Göttingen manuscript* is one of the earliest known works devoted entirely to modern chess that is preserved in the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (Germany). It is a Latin text of 33 leaves held at the University of Göttingen. Authorship and the exact date of the manuscript are unknown. Similarities to Lucena's *Repeticion de Amores e Arte de Axedres con CL iuegos de partido* (c. 1497) have led some scholars to surmise that it was written by Lucena or one of Lucena's sources.

Although the manuscript is generally assumed to be older than Lucena's work, this is not established, because Murray thought that the chess problems of this manuscript are of a more advanced stage than the problems of Lucena's book of 1497<sup>254</sup>. Maybe the idea that this manuscript was older than Lucena (1497) was due to the fact that Dr. Fritz Clemens Görschen (1911–1981) wrote in *Schach Echo* (1975) that King Alfonso V of Portugal had the manuscript when he visited France in the winter of 1474–5 and that it had been written in 1471<sup>255</sup>. However, one should take into account that Richard Eales sees this as simple speculation<sup>256</sup>.

Was the work dedicated to a prince in France, the future king of France, Francisco I? It is known that his mother Louise of Savoy prepared his son with exquisite education<sup>257</sup>.

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<sup>254</sup> MURRAY, H. J. R. (1913) *A History of Chess*, Oxford University Press, pp. 782–784

<sup>255</sup> HOOPER, David; WHYLD, Kenneth (1996) *The Göttingen Manuscript*. The Oxford Companion to Chess (2 ed.), Oxford University, p. 156

<sup>256</sup> EALES, Richard (1985) *Chess, The History of a Game*, B.T. Batsford, p. 74

<sup>257</sup> GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent: the History of Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess*. Fundació Jaime II el Just, Generalitat Valenciana, pp. 15-57, 399-400



Göttingen's chess manuscript (<http://www.schach-goettingen.de>)

**GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio; ALIÓ, Josep; ARTIGAS, Miquel** (2012) Nuevo Ensayo de Bibliografía Español de Ajedrez (NEBEA) 1238 – 1938. Rome Editors, pp. 125-128

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On the other hand it is worthwhile to know whether the manuscript was written by Lucena, which we do not know till present day.

This chess manuscript known as MS Göttingen (In the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek Göttingen, signature "Philos 85") only bears the name of Lucena and from the texts it clearly appears that it was addressed to a prince: *Dominatio vestra, Serenissime princeps, Magnifice domine*. The letter of the manuscript is similar to the letter of another chess manuscript known as *Les Éches amoureux* that was copied and illustrated on behalf of Luisa de Saboya (1476-1547) between the years 1500-1500. Garzón thinks that the prince is Francisco I of France (1494-1547), which could imply Lucena's presence in France.

It is also possible that this manuscript was written in Rome for the future Francisco I of France.

Specialists in handwriting need to find out whether the calligraphy has to do with Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.



## MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLO

Firstly, what may be a derivation of the presentation copy, transcribed in all likelihood by the Spaniard Genesio de la Barrera<sup>258</sup>, an apprentice of the famous Arrighi, is identified in the beautiful Barberini manuscript of *The Prince* by Machiavelli<sup>259</sup>. Martin Coyle<sup>260</sup> states that this Vatican copy is particularly interesting because it was made in Rome and commissioned from the outstanding scribe Ludovico degli Arrighi, and entrusted by him to his Spanish colleague Genesius de la Barrera<sup>261</sup>, probably between 1521 and 1523. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi had his own very modest copying workshop in Rome as scriptor in the Vatican Chancery. He could afford to enjoy the post and to have others to do the work, as was the case with Genesius de la Barrera, who originally came from Carmona near Sevilla:

GIOVANNI: (1) MS Ashburnham 1075 of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, a beautifully written and illuminated parchment manuscript, replete with Medici devices, which contains an Officium mortuorum and the Septem psalmi penitenti; on fols. 51' -52', it contains the inscription 'Demandato S. D. N. D. Leonis Divina Provid. Papae. x. Genesius

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<sup>258</sup> **CLOUGH, H.C.** (1970) *Machiavelli's Political Assumptions and Objectives*, John Rylands Library, *Manchester Bulletin* 53

<sup>259</sup> **RUYSSCHAERT, José** (1972) *Le copiste Genesius de la Barrera et le Manuscrit Barberini d'Il Principe de Machiavelli*. In: *Studies on Machiavelli*, Florence, 1972, pp. 351-359

<sup>260</sup> **RICHARDSON, Brian** (1995) *The Prince and Its Early Italian Readers*. In: **COYLE, Martin** (0000) *Niccolò Machiavelli's The Prince: New Interdisciplinary Essays*. Manchester University Press, p. 19

<sup>261</sup> **FAIRBANK, Alfred** (1970) *Genesius de la Barrera*. In: *Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting*, (1970), N° 63, pp. 7-11

**THOMSON, F.A.** (1970) *The Genesius II Principe*. In: *The journal of the Society for Italic handwriting*, 64, pp. 12-15 and 65, pp. 28-31

**JACOBUCCI, Renzo** (2013) *Il codice Vaticano Barberiniano del Principe*. In: *Niccolò Machiavelli, Il Principe*, a cura di G. Inglese, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, pp. 177-187

## **Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina**



**Niccollo Machiavelli**

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

de la Barrera Hispanus Ortus Carmona Hispalen. Dioc Famulatus. S. Suae Pro:fessor Scripsit. Rome Pontific. Prelibati D. N. Ann. vIII.' to which a second hand has added '1520'<sup>262</sup>.

Francesch Vicent was the chess master of Lucrecia Borgia. On one hand we learn from the Propalladia that Bartolomé Torres Naharro was in the service of Cesar Borgia and on the other hand we know that Niccolo Machiavelli was his secretary. Consequently Ludovico degli Arrighi (Francesch Vicent) used his old friendship to work with Machiavelli;<sup>263</sup>:

Beatrice Corrigan's important discovery of the Colchester and Essex Museum manuscript deals with the play *An Unrecorded Manuscript of Machiavelli's La Clizia*. Unlike the *Mandragola*, no autograph manuscript of *Clizia* survives, having been printed instead ten years after Machiavelli's death. It briefly describes the newly discovered manuscript, especially the beauty and elegance of the calligraphy of Ludovico degli Arrighi, and observes that it was presented by Machiavelli to Lorenzo Ridolfi on his marriage to Maria di Filippo Strozzi, as noted by Machiavelli in his October 1525 letter to Guicciardini, following the first performance of the play on January 13, 1525. *Clizia* was composed in a few days at a time when the Orti Gardens had been closed and Machiavelli spent his leisure days at the home of Jacobo Fornaciaio where he met frequently with Barbara Salutati.

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<sup>262</sup> CUMMINGS, Anthony M. (1991). Giulio de' Medici's Music Books. In: Early Music History, Volume 10, pp. 65-122. Citation on p. 85.

<sup>263</sup> RUFFO FIORE, Silvia (1960). Niccolò Machiavelli. An annotated Bibliography of Modern Criticism and Scholarship, p. 166.

### MANFREDI, LELIO

#### 1515 Carcer d'amore

Lelio de Manfredo Ferrarese translated the Catalanian *Carcer de Amor* (Johan Rosenbach, 1493) into Italian<sup>264</sup> on request of Isabel de Gonzaga<sup>265</sup> and dedicated the work to Isabel d'Este.

The work *Carcel de amor* was printed in 1515 in Italian by Georgio de Rusconi in Venice, although Pallotta thinks more of the year 1518<sup>266</sup>.

#### Editions of *Carcer d'amor* (translation of *Carcel de Amor*) in Italy

Year	Town	Printer
1514?	Venice	Georgio de Rusconi?
1515	Venice	Georgio de Rusconi
1515	Milán	
1518?	Venice	Georgio de Rusconi?
1521	Venice	B. Viano
1525	Venice	Gregori
1530?	Venice	Bindoni-Pasini?
1531	Venice	
1533	Venice	
1537	Venice	Bindoni-Pasini
1546	Venice	

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<sup>264</sup> **BOGNOLO, Anna** (2015) *Il Tirante a Venezia*. Sul contesto editoriale della prima edizione italiana (Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio alle spese di Federico Torresano d'Asola, 1538). In: **BABBI, Anna Maria & ESCARTÍ, Vicent Josep** (2015) *More About 'Tirant lo Blanc'*. Més sobre el 'Tirant lo Blanc'. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, pp. 101-118. Citation on p. 101

<sup>265</sup> **ALBORG, Juan Luis** (1986) *Historia de la literatura española*. Editorial Gredos, S.A., p. 456

<sup>266</sup> **PALLOTTA, Augustus** (1991) *Venetian Printers ad Spanish Literature in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. In: *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 43, N°. 1 (Winter, 1991), pp. 20-42. Citation on p. 23

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Around 1519 Lelio Manfredi would start translating the work *Grisel y Mirabella*<sup>267</sup> into Italian. Lelio Aletiphilo (pseudonym for Lelio Manfredi) dedicated this work to his friend Scipione Attellano.

### Editions of *Historia di Aurelio e Isabella* (Translation of *Grisel y Mirabela*) in Italy)

Year	Town	Printer
1521	Milan	Gianotto di Castiglio – Andrea Calvo
1526	Venice	Gregorio and Garanta
1528?	Venice	Penzio and Stampone?
1529	Venice	Melch. Sessa
1531?	Venice	Marchio Sessa?
1533	Venice	Marchio. Sessa
1533	Venice	Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari
1535	Venice	Francesco Bindoni & Maphio Pasini

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<sup>267</sup> MATULKA, Barbara (1974) *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*. Slatkin Reprints, Genève, p. 170-172

## MANUTIUS, ALDUS

Lucrecia Borgia's relations with the house of Urbino were very friendly - at first with Guidobaldo de Montefeltro and after his death with his successor Francesco Maria della Rovere, son of Elizabeth Gonzaga. The princess of both houses visited Lucrecia frequently, and among the persons who had contact with her I counted Baltasar Castiglione, Ottaviano Fregoso, Aldus Manutius, Emilia Pío (wife of Antonio de Montefeltro), and Pietro Bembo<sup>268</sup>. In other words, Baltasar Castiglione must have known both Francesch Vicent (Lucena) and Juan del Encina! No doubt that Lucena spoke about his chess activities with Federico Fregoso and that he was a guest of the Duke of Urbino in those years.

This latest exposure is an important fact, because we know that Erasmus became financial help from Aldus Manutius. In 1506 Erasmus traveled to Italy. Erasmus polished his Greek in Italy and formed a relationship with the printing house of Aldus Manutius<sup>269</sup> in Venice, the first link to publishing his writings that secured his financial and professional independence. There Erasmus must have learned of the work of *La Celestina* written by an Aragonese writer. Luis Vives had a personal relationship with Erasmus in Lovaina between 1517-1521. It must have been at this time that Erasmus spoke about the Aragonese Francesco being the chess master of Lucrecia Borgia and the author of *La Celestina*. As we know from the research of the Italian Alessandro Sanvito, Francesch Vicent did not use his full name in Ferrara. He was only known as Francesco<sup>270</sup>.

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<sup>268</sup> **GREGOROVIVUS, Fernando** (1962) *Lucrecia Borgia. Según los documentos y correspondencias de su propio tiempo*. Editorial Lorenzana, Barcelona, p. 364

<sup>269</sup> **SALZBERG, Rosa** (2008) 'The Richest Man in Italy': Aldo Manuzio and the Value of Male Friendships. In: *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Brepols Publishers, pp. 177-198. Citation on p. 184

<sup>270</sup> **SANVITO, Allesandro** (1999) *Il maestro discacchi spagnolo di Lucrecia Borgia*. In: *L'Italia Scacchistica*, N°. 1131, pp. 392-393

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Due to this personal contact with Erasmus, Luis Vives could state in his book of 1531 that *La Celestina*<sup>271</sup> was written by an Aragonese author. In the literature researchers speak about Ludovico degli Arrighi of Venice. He was known as Vicentino and probably learned calligraphy from Pietro Bembo. On the other hand it is quite well possible that he was working in the printing house of Aldus Manutius. Calligraphy-inspired typefaces were first designed in Italy to replace documents traditionally written in a handwriting style called chancery hand. Ludovico Arrighi and Aldus Manutius (both between the 15th and 16th centuries) were the main type designers involved in this process at the time.

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<sup>271</sup> Joannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini de disciplinis libri XX.: Excudebat Antverpiae Michael Hillenius in Rapo, 1531; [T.I] de corruptis artibus liber primus [-septimus]. [T. II] de tradendis disciplina sev de institvtione Christiana liber primvs. [T. III] De prima philosophia siue de intimo naturae opificio liber primus [-octavus] (Juan Luis Vives: Amberes: Michael Hillenius, 1531, folio 30)

## **MARCELLO, CRISTOFORO**

Christopher Marcello (Venice, c.1480- c.1527) was born around 1480 to an ancient patrician family in the parish of St. Toma in Venice. His father Antonio - the son of James, captain general of the sea - had married a descendant of the noble family of Emo in 1475.

He was an Italian theologian and bishop. He was a canon at Padua, then appointed by Pope Julius II between 1507 and 1508 as apostolic prothonotary. At the Roman court he became a tablemate of the Cardinals Giovanni and Giulio de Medici. He was Archbishop of Corfu from 1514. At difficult moments he could reckon on the support of Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal. After the short pontificate of Adrian VI, from November 1523, Marcello was able to count on the support of another Medici pope, now Pope Clement VII. Marcello wrote various theological manuscripts and books; one of them was printed by Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

In October 1526 his Roman residence was devastated by men of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, bitter enemy of Clement VII, but Marcello had fled to the home of Cardinal d'Araceli, and from there to the Castle. In May 1527, during the sack of the city, he was taken prisoner. Transferred to the fortress of Gaeta by soldiers of Fernando Alarcón y Mendoza, June 9 implored his brother Jerome to provide for the payment of a ransom of 6,000 ducats necessary for his "liberation et vita".

In August of 1527 the news of his death arrived in Venice. The circumstances are not known, but certainly as one failed to pay the ransom Marcello was obliged to suffer ill-treatment by soldiers in a way that ended his life<sup>272</sup>.

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<sup>272</sup> **PALUMBO, Margherita** (2007) *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 69



## MEDICI, GIOVANNI DI LORENZO POPE LEO X (1513-1521)

Pope Leo was elected Pope on March 11 1513 and his mandate would last until Dec. 1 1521. Just like its predecessor, Pope Julius II (1503-1513), Clement VII (1523-1534) had a very clear idea of a cultural policy.

Pope Leo must have felt a preference for Torres Naharro because he called the latter “*dilectus filius*”. Pope Leo X (Giovanni di Medici) was a passionate chess player as one of the best chess historians, Alessandro Sanvito, indicates<sup>273</sup>:

Papa, in quei tempi, era Leone X, uno dei pontefici di più larghe vedute, ed egli stesso accanito ed appassionato giocatore di scacchi. Logico, quindi, che anche alti prelati coltivassero la passione per il gioco; uno dei più eleganti poemetti rinascimentali, in esametri di ispirazione virgiliana, è appunto opera del Vescovo cremonese Marco Gerolamo Vida che non più tardi del 1513, scrisse in latino il «*Scacchia Ludus*», di cui si fecero numerose traduzioni in ogni lingua. Vida descrive una partita a scacchi fra Apollo e Mercurio, che finisce con la Vittoria di quest'ultimo. Questi poi, si innamora della Musa Scacchide, ninfa del fiume Serio, che si getta nell'Adda non lontano da Cremona, le dona la scacchiera e le insegna le regole del gioco.

The book of Dr. Adriano Rico is another witness to the chess activity of Pope Leo X<sup>274</sup>:

Uno dei pontefici di più larghe vedute, Leone X, era egli stesso appassionato giocatore di scacchi. Di lui Baldassare Turini da Pescia scriveva nel 1514, non senza una punta di deplorazione, che «nostro signore sta la maggior parte del dì in la stanza sua a giocare a scacchi»; e l'Actius –un perugino, che scrisse nel 1584 un *De ludo scachorum in legali methodo tractatus* – ricordava come proverbiale l'abilità nel giuoco di Papa Leone, tanto che di una partita disperata

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<sup>273</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro** (2004). La storia la societa' scacchistica milanese e gli scacchi in lombardia. In: Società Scacchistica Milanese, <http://www.scacchisticamilanese.it>

<sup>274</sup> **CHICCO, Adriano** (1959). Il libro completo degli Scacchi, p. 42.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

si soleva dire: «Papa Leone regala queste partite». Il Paolucci, oratore estense a Roma, nel 1520 comunicava al duca di Ferrara che si era trovato a pranzo con Sua Santità, e poi aveva giocato a scacchi con il Cardinale Cesarino per compiacere il Papa.

We cannot forget that the Duke of Ferrara had Francesch Vicent at his service to teach the chess game to his wife Lucrecia Borgia<sup>275</sup>. In 1512 the first Duke of Ferrara Alfonso d'Este had a really bad relationships with the Papacy and through the influence and connections of his friend Fabricio Colonna - the same man who helped to escape the Duke in 1512 out of the hands of Pope Julius II – he wanted to be rehabilitated before the future Pope Leo X. To fall sympathetic to the new Pope Leo X, an avid lover of chess, the Duke d'Este used certain tricks.

Probably, and now we go into the realm of conjectures, he prepared this chess work by Francesch Vicent and dedicated it to the “Gonfalonieri del Popolo di Roma”, Giovan Giorgio Cesarini, an important personage linked to the Roman Clergy. The chronics pick up his participation in the coronation of Pope Leo X (11 April 1513) where the same Giorgio Cesarini carried the "Grande Gonfalone Rosso" (it should be some kind of a banner or baderole), with the letters S.P.Q.R. in gold). He was a “personage” who, as says professor Adriano Chicco, could easily favour Damian<sup>276</sup> and in this case the same Duke of Ferrara to clean up his name.

What seems beyond historians' doubt is that Torres Naharro wrote *Jacinta* in honour of Isabella d'Este during her trip to Naples and

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<sup>275</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro** (1999) *Il maestro di scacchi spagnolo di Lucrecia Borgia*, In: *L'Italia Scacchistica*, N° 1131, December 1999, pp. 392-393. Cited by **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2005) *El regreso de Francesch Vicent. La historia del nacimiento y expansión del ajedrez moderno*, Generalidad Valenciana. Fundación Jaime II el Just, p. 175

<sup>276</sup> **CHICCO, Adriano y ROSINO, Antonio** (1990) *Storia degli scacchi in Italia*. Venezia, Marsilio Editori, p. 69

Rome in 1514 and 1515<sup>277</sup>. As Oleza pointed out, the possibility that Torres Naharro accompanied Isabel to Naples seems very likely, because in the Prohemia of *Propalladia* he clearly says that he liked to travel and see the world. S. di Branca Tedallini<sup>278</sup> recorded in his Roman Journal (1485-1524) in October 1514 that Isabel was in Rome during autumn and winter of 1514-1515 as a guest of Pope Leo X:

Venne la moglie dello Duca de Mantua in Roma et stette in Roma un mese, et poi andéne in Napoli; gli fu fatto grande honore, come se fussi stata la moglie dello re di Francia.

Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was in Urbino in 1506 and moved to Rome in 1512 where he was appointed Secretary to Pope Leo X. Arrighi, the famous writing master, is reported to have worked in the Papal Chancery under Bembo's supervision<sup>279</sup>.

At the time of Pope Leo X the Venetian Andrea Navagero (1483-1529), Pietro Bembo (1483-1529), and Baldosare Castiglione (1478-1529) belonged to the Roman Academy directed by the secretary of Pope Leo X<sup>280</sup>. There's no doubt that Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi also belonged to this academy.

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<sup>277</sup> **GILMAN, Stephen** (1963-1964) Retratos de conversos en la comedia Jacina de Torres Naharro. In: Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XVII, págs. 20-39. Citation on p. 23

**WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, J.P.** (1937) *Two Notes on the Play of Torres Naharro*. In: Hispanic Review, volume V, January, issue 1, pp. 76-78

<sup>278</sup> A cura di Paolo Piccolomini. *En Rerum Italianarum Scriptores*, vol XXIII, 3. Cited by **OLEZA, Joan** (2004) *En torno a los últimos años de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*. In: P. Garelli e G. Marchetti, eds. Un "Hombre de bien". *Saggi di lingue e letterature iberiche in onore di Rinaldo Froldi*. Alessandria. Edizioni dell'Orso, pp. 233-248.

<sup>279</sup> **KENT, Allen & LANCOUR, Harold** (1969) *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Volume 2*, Associat. to Book World, Marcel Dekker Inc. New York, p. 329

<sup>280</sup> **GREGOROVIVS, Ferdinand** (2003) *Roma y Atenas en la edad media y otros ensayos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, p. 135 and 294



**Portrait of Pope Leo X and Two Cardinals, Giulio de Medici and Luigi de Rossi  
– Florence (Raphael, 1517)**

**MEDICI, GIULIO DEI -  
POPE CLEMENT VII (1523-1534)**

**The Missal of Cardinal Giulio dei Medici**

Cardinal Giulio de Medici (Pope Clement VII 1523-1534) was a singularly interesting patron who commissioned or supervised many of the best-known artistic undertakings of the Cinquecento.

An object of unsurpassed beauty, the Berlin missal<sup>281</sup> was prepared for Cardinal Giulio by the famed scribe Ludovico degli Arrighi (called il Vicentino) and on fol 404v, the work is signed and dated “Sedente Leone. X. Pont. Maximo/Ludouicus Vicentinus Scribebat Romae An Sal. MDXX”.

The Berlin missal is Arrighi's only surviving work written entirely in the Roman script<sup>282</sup>. The principal illuminator of Cardinal Giulio's Berlin missal has been identified as the Lombard artist known as Matteo da Milano<sup>283</sup>.

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<sup>281</sup> **REISS, Sheryl, E.** (2000) *Cardinal Giulio de Medici's 1520 Missal and Other Works by Matteo da Milano*. In: Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 33, Bd., pp. 107-128

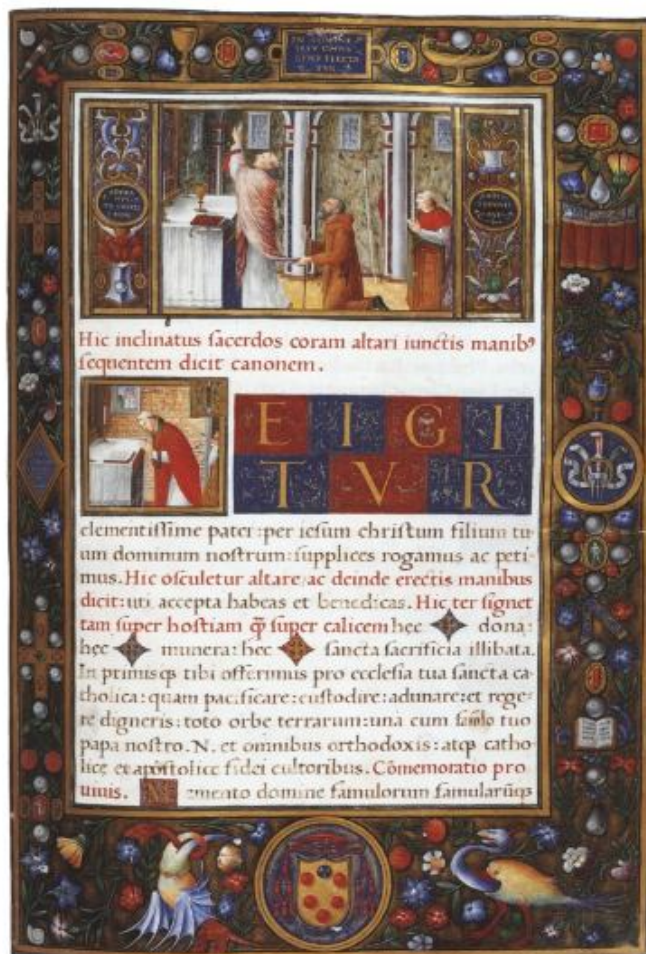
<sup>282</sup> **FAIRBANK, A.** (1971) *Another Arrighi Manuscript Discovered*. In: The Book Collector 20, p. 333

<sup>283</sup> Some references about Matteo da Milano are:

**BRADLEY, J.W.** (?) *On Matteo da Milano Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers and Copyists with References to Their Work and Notices of Their Patrons From the Establishment of Christianity to the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols., vol. II, New York, p. 327

**HERMAN, H.J.** (1900) *Zur Geschichte der Miniaturmalerei am Hofe der Este in Ferrara: Stilkritische Studien*. Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 21, pp. 219-220 for the tentative identification of «Miniaturist A», as Matteo da Milano (hereafter cited as Hermann, 1900). For documents see *ibid.*, pp. 269-270

**MALAGUZZI VALERI, F.** (1917) *La corte di Lodovico il Moro*, 3 vols., vol. III *Gli artisti Lombardi*, Milan, p. 216 (hereafter cited as Malaguzzi Valeri).



Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, 1520, MS. 78 D 17, fol. 183r

### Dialoghi maritimi dedicated to Cardinal Giulio dei Medici

Ludovico degli Arrighi was the scribe responsible for at least one other manuscript dedicated to Cardinal Giulio<sup>284</sup>, a 1519 Latin translation of Lucian's *Dialoghi Maritimi* preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana<sup>285</sup>. This manuscript, written in Arrighi's familiar cursive hand, was illuminated in the Florentine style of Attavante degli Attivanti<sup>286</sup>.

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<sup>284</sup> REISS, Sheryl, E. (2000) *Cardinal Giulio de Medici's 1520 Missal and Other Works by Matteo da Milano*. In: Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 33, Bd., pp. 107-128

<sup>285</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Lat. 5802

FAIRBANK, A. (1971) *Another Arrighi Manuscript Discovered*. In: The Book Collector 20, p. 323-333

<sup>286</sup> MORELLO, G. (1985) *Raffaello e la Roma dei Papa*, ex. Cat., Rome, cat. No. 85, p. 76



**Portrait of Pope Clement VII (Sebastiano del Piombo)  
National Museum of Capodimonte**



## **MEO DE ROTELLI, LAUTIZIO DI**

Italian goldsmith active between 1511 and 1527. Preview Picture Data File Info Comment Seal of Cardinal Ippolito de Medici c. 1520 Gold Museo Nazionale del Bargello Florence Lautizio di Meo Lautizio da Perugia was an Italian goldsmith and medallist active in Perugia.

Lautizio de' Meo di Rotelli (Lautizio Perugino, a Perugian goldsmith also known as Lautizio da Perugia, was allegedly unique in the world in practicing seal engraving professionally in Rome. Over the last 150 years several extant matrices, impressions, and casts of cardinals' seals from the first quarter of the Cinquecento have been assigned to the Perugian despite the fact that archival and stylistic evidence does not always support these attributions.

Lautizio di Meo de' Rotelli was listed as a member of the company of goldsmiths of Perugia in 1511 and associated with the city's mint. He executed gold and silver chalices, seals, and portrait medals. He appears to have moved to Rome before 1523, and in 1524-25 he operated there as a partner to a printer working for the papacy.

## **MILANO, MATTEO DI**

Matteo da Milano was an Italian illuminator active between 1492 and 1523.

Matteo da Milano was one of the most important Italian illuminators active between 1492 and 1523. Originally from Milan, Matteo worked largely in Rome and Ferrara. His wide range of powerful patrons included the Este family of Ferrara, the Medici of Florence, the Orsini of Rome, and the della Rovere, dukes of Urbino. Matteo also specialized in making manuscripts for highly ranking ecclesiastics from prominent families, among them Pope Leo X<sup>287</sup>.

He is first documented in November 1504 among the artists working on the Breviary of Ercole I d'Este (1502-1505) and appears in the Este accounts until 1512<sup>288</sup>. Consequently, Francesch Vicent got to know him in Ferrara.

During a certain time we see him working with Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

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<sup>287</sup> **CONTESSA, Andreina** (2012) *Jewish Book Collection and Patronage in Renaissance Italy*. In: The Italia Judaica Jubilee Conference. Koninklijke Brill N.V., Leiden, pp. 37-57. Citation on p. 52

<sup>288</sup> **ROSENBERG, Charles M.** (1996) Matteo da Milano – illuminator. In: Grove Art Online

## NAVAGERO, ANDREA

Andrea Navagero (Venice, 1483 - Blois, France, May 8, 1529), Latinized Andreas Naugerius and also cited as Andrés Navagero, was a humanist, writer, and Venetian politician.

The Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero was in Martos and Granada in the court of Emperor Charles V from May to December 1526<sup>289</sup>:

El día diez fuimos a Mártos, que dista de Alcaudete tres leguas; se pasa en el camino con río llamado *Bívora*, por un castillo inmediato del mismo nombre, y otro río salado del cual se provee Mártos. Mártos fue colonia romana, y según se infiere de muchas lápidas que allí se encuentran, se llamaba *Tucci*, y los habitantes *tuccitanos*; hablando de ella dice Plinio: *Tucci cognomine Auguta Gemella*; en algunas lápidas encontramos no sólo el nombre, sino el *cognomen*.

### Loose translation:

On day ten we went to Martos, which is three leagues far from Alcaudete; one goes on the road with the river called *Bívora* through an immediate castle of the same name, and another salty river from which Martos provided itself. Martos was a Roman colony, and as inferred from many tombstones found there, it's called *Tucci*, and the inhabitants the *tuccitanos*. Talking about it Plinio says: *Tucci cognomine Auguta Gemella*; and on some tombstones we found not only the name, but also the *cognomen*.

During the wedding festivities of Emperor Charles V and the Empress Andrea Navagero (1483-1529) a friend of Pietro Bembo (1483-1529) had time to see his friend Juan Boscan and Baldosare Castiglione (1478-1529)<sup>290</sup>. At this time also Alfonso Valdes, Pedro Martyr, Lucio

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<sup>289</sup> NAVAGERO, Andres (1983) *Viaje por España (1524-1526)*. Traducido y anotado por Antonio María Fabie. Ediciones Turner, Madrid, pp. 65-66

<sup>290</sup> VEGA, Garcilazo de la (2003) *Poesías castellanas completas; edición, introducción y notas de Elías L. Rivers*, Madrid, p. 14

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Marineo Siculus, and the same Castiglione saw each other. Navagero died in Blois in France, where he was ambassador of his native town, leaving only a few writings and poetry<sup>291</sup>. At the time of Pope Leo X Navagero as well as Baldassare Castiglione and Pietro Bembo, belonged to the Roman Academy, run by the secretary of Leo X. Hence the early friendship between them in the Vatican<sup>292</sup>. We now immediately realize that Ludovico Degli Arrighi Vicentino also knew these Italian humanists and had friendships with them.

Francisco Delicado took advantage of the expertise of Andrea Navagero about Martos to indicate in his book *El retrato de la Lozana Andaluza* that Martos was his birth town.

It may be that the same Andrés Navagero<sup>293</sup> helped Lucena in the past with books for the printing house in Zaragoza, because this ambassador knew well the importance of the printer Jorge Coci in Zaragoza and he gave the city the title of "la harta" . Rather curious is Navagero's letter written in Toledo on Sept 12 1525 where his knowledge of the book of chivalry *Primaleón*<sup>294</sup> is revealed.

I send you, brother Juan Bautista, with the magnificent Messer Gaspar Contarini, the *Primaleon* that you entrusted me.

Cardinal Giulio de Medici was Pietro Aretino's protector in 1520. In 1523 Aretino was in Mantua with Federico Gonzaga. In November

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**GARCÍA DE LA CONCHA, Victor** (1999) *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, Tomo XXI. La cultura del Renacimiento (1480-1580), Madrid: Esposa-Calpe, p. 634

<sup>291</sup> **GREGOROVIVS, Ferdinand** (2003) *Roma y Atenas en la edad media y otros ensayos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica., p. 159

<sup>292</sup> **GREGOROVIVS, Ferdinand** (2003) *Roma y Atenas en la edad media y otros ensayos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 135 and 294

<sup>293</sup> **NAVAGERO, Andrea** (1524-1526) *Viaje a España del magnífico señor Andrea Navagero, Embajador de la República de Venecia ante el Emperador Carlos V.* Cited by **RUIZ LASALA, Inocencio** (1975) *Historia de la Imprenta en Zaragoza con noticias de las de Barcelona, Valencia y Segovia*. Zaragoza, p. 61

<sup>294</sup> **NAVAGERO, Andres** (1983) *Viaje por España (1524-1526)*. Traducido y anotado por Antonio María Fabie. Ediciones Turner, Madrid, pp. 108-114

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1524 he was in Rome and after an assault in July 1525 he was severely wounded and remained in Rome until October 1525. It is very likely that this year Francisco Delicado and Aretino saw each other in Rome. Once cured, Aretino went to see his friend Giovanni delle Bande Nere in Mantua on 13 October 1525. Both Cardinal Giulio de Medici and Federico Gonzaga were good friends of Lucena. Damian Bruno believes in the possibility that Andrea Navagero, another friend of Lucena, was also a friend of Aretino's<sup>295</sup>.

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<sup>295</sup> **DELICADO, Francisco** (1984) *La Lozana andaluza*. Editorial Castalia Edición de Bruno Damiani, p. 19



**Andrea Navegero**

## ORDÓÑEZ, ALFONSO

The translator of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* in Rome was Alfonso Ordóñez, a familiar of Pope Julius II. According to Juan Bautista Agnesius<sup>296</sup> he came from the town of Segorbe, viz. the same place where Francesch Vicent was from. Agnesius stated the following about Alfonso Ordóñez:

Altos parum adelinabis armos at mihi,  
Fidum esse amicum dum tibi resciveris,  
Quod in Sagunthum musa Nublarum oppido  
Segobrio Alphonso, ac patri Enrico inclito  
Proregis in laudem simulque in omnium,  
Praeconium aedidit virorum illustrium,  
Vt manu amica comptus hyrsutum comas,  
Tum vernulis ornes tuis & flosculis.

Years later Ordóñez<sup>297</sup>, as Professor of Public Speaking at the University of Valencia published in 1518 in the workshops of Joffré in Valencia for the use of their Valencian students and certainly under the influence of his known tablemate of the Pope, Juan del Encina, the *Aelii Anthony Nebrissensis grammatici et rethoris selectio nova de accentu latino aut latinitate Donato ubi regular seneque utilices dictionum tam latinarum quam graecarum que usurpantur a latinis*

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<sup>296</sup> **AGNESIUS, Ioannes Baptista** (1543) Apología in defensionem virorum illustr. Equestrium, honorumque civium Valentinarum. In ciuilem Valentín populi seditionem. Quam vulgo Germaniam olim appaellarunt. Valentiae, per Ionnem Baldouinum, et Ionnem Mey socios, natione Germanos. Quinto Februarii, Anno a Christi natali, 1543. Ionnes Baptista Agnesius, Christisacerdos. Citado por **SCOLAS, Emma** (1961) Note sulla prima traduzione italiana della Celestina. In: Studi Romanzi XXXIII, pp. 153-217. Citation on pp. 171-172

<sup>297</sup> **FEBRER ROMAGUERA, Manuel** (2003). Ortodoxia y humanismo: el estudio general de Valencia durante el rectorado de Joan de Salaya (1525-1558). Universidad de Valencia, p. 230

**SERRANO Y MORALES, JOSÉ ENRIQUE** (1895-1899). Reseña histórica en forma de diccionario de las imprentas que han existido en Valencia desde la introducción del arte tipográfico en España hasta el año 1868, p. 234

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*mina brevitae perstringitur... ab Alphonso Ordognes accuratissime nunc denuo recognit tersa et emaculata:....*

The Rome 1506 Italian *Celestina* is not only the first translation; it is also the oldest surviving text of the Tragicomedia, notwithstanding the existence of several Spanish editions bearing a false date of 1502. Ordóñez's model was the first written Tragicomedia, probably based on the Francesch Vicent's (Lucena's)<sup>298</sup> manuscript of the Spanish Tragicomedia.

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<sup>298</sup> See the analysis by JGAAP:

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (In press) The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of *La Celestina* Throughout His Life.



## PACIOLI, LUCA

Before *La Operina*, the work of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi, other books were printed on the art of making letters, such as *el Theorica et Practica de Sigismondo Fanti de 1514*, the first illustrated handbook, or *Divina proportione de Luca Pacioli* of 1509. These books show how to draw a gothic rotund of geometric shape, and they focus more on teaching theory than practice<sup>299</sup>.



Luca Pacioli wearing the habit of the Franciscan order, 1495  
(National Museum of Capodimonte)

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<sup>299</sup> VALLE SOLANO, Diego (2011) *Los manuales de escritura entre los siglos XV y XX*

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

As we know, Luca Pacioli or Fra Luca Bartolomeo de Pacioli wrote a similar chess book as Francesch Vicent. His Latin book was known as the *De Ludo scachorum*<sup>300</sup> and written around 1500. The manuscript contains over a hundred chess problems with the old and modern rules and was dedicated to Isabella d'Este of Mantua. She was the sister-in-law of Lucrezia Borgia.

The long-lost manuscript was rediscovered in 2006. It is well possible that Leonardo da Vinci had a hand in the representation of the chess pieces. Pacioli and Leonardo were friends, and Leonardo is known to have provided illustrations for Pacioli's book *De divina proportione*. Apparently *De ludo scacchorum* was created after 1499 somewhere when they both fled from Milan to Mantua, where they were protected by the chess-loving Isabella d'Este<sup>301</sup>.

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<sup>300</sup> **ROCCO, Franco** (2013) *Leonardo & Luca Pacioli. The Evidence*. Lexington, Kentucky

**GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2007) *Estudio del tratado ajedrecístico de Luca Pacioli*. Valencia

<sup>301</sup> **ROCCO, Franco** (2013) *Leonardo & Luca Pacioli – the Evidence*. Lexington, Kentucky

## PALLADIO, BLOSIO

Blosio Palladio (pseudonym of Biagio Pallai); Collevocchio ... - Rome, December 8, 1550) was a poet, architect and Italian Catholic bishop. From 1518-1519, he was secretary of the Latin papal nuncio Archbishop Orsini.

In 1524 Ludovico Vicentino printed *Coryciana*, a collection of selected poems composed in Rome in honour of a patron of German nationality, Hans Goritz. He was home secretary to Pope Clement VII, a position he held even under Pope Paul III and shortly before his death under Pope Julius III<sup>302</sup>.

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<sup>302</sup> **BARBIERI, Nicoletta Ilaria** (2012)\ *Cultura letteraria intorno a Federico Gonzaga, primo duca di Mantova*. Dottorato di ricerca in Scienze storiche, filologiche e letterarie dell'Europa e del Mediterraneo. Indirizzo: Filologia e letteratura medievale, umanistica e rinascimentale ciclo XXV. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, p. 155

## PHILOMUSUS, GIOVANNI FRANCESCO

To celebrate the ascent to the throne of S. Peter in 1513 the humanist Giovanni Francesco Philomusus composed an Exultatio<sup>303</sup> for Leo the Tenth, which was transcribed by the famous scribe Ludovico Arrighi<sup>304</sup> in a code stored in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze (Plut. 35.43), decorated by M(atteo di Milano) in the initial paper 1r.

Casual, Philomusus had predicted<sup>305</sup> nearly a quarter of a century before; "What joy," had cried the farseeing bard, "will so high an honour afford your beloved parent and what verses will Apollo inspire me to write in commemoration of the event!"

Eximiumque caput sacra redimire thyra  
Pontificis summi; proh gaudia quanta parenti  
Tum dabis, et quantis mihi tum spirabit Apollo!

It seems that the name of Philomusus was a pseudonym for Joannes de Médici (1475-1521).

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<sup>303</sup> **ROSCOE, William** (1805) *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth*: In Four Volumes, Volume 2, Appendix, pp. 33-38

<sup>304</sup> **BUSSI, Dillon** (1996-1997) *Una serie di ritratti miniati per Leone X e un poscritto di novità su M. da M. e sul libro in epoca leonina*, In Riv. di storia della miniatura, I-II, pp. 17-33. Citation on p. 29

<sup>305</sup> **VAUGHAN, Herbert M.** (1908) *The Medici Popes*, p. 111

**ROVERE, GIULIANO DELLA  
POPE JULIUS II (1503-1513)**

Pope Julius II (1443-1513) had the nickname "The Warrior Pope". His name was Giuliano della Rovere and he was Pope from 1 November 1503 to his death in 1513. Giuliano della Rovere was the son of Rafaello della Rovere. Francesco della Rovere (later Pope Sixtus IV) was his uncle. With his uncle [as Pope] he acquired great influence, and in addition to the archbishopric of Avignon he held no fewer than eight bishoprics. According to Joseph Gillet Bartolomé Torres Naharro was in the service of the nephew of Pope Julius di Medici, who was made cardinal on 23 September 1513 and who would be the future Pope Clemente VII<sup>306</sup>. This Julius Medici belonged to the humanistic group of the Court of Urbino according to the book of Castiglione.

Ferrara de Orduna<sup>307</sup> observes that in *Lozana andaluza* there is a text that refers to Pope Julius II (1503-1513):

«¿Y a vos no's conoscí yo en tiempo de Julio segundo en Plaça Nagona, cuando sirviédes al señor canónigo?»

**Loose translation:**

«I did not know you during the time of Julius II, in Nagona Square, when you were in the service of the Lord Canon?»

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<sup>306</sup> **GILLET, Joseph** (1943) *Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*. Edición de Joseph E. Gillet, 3 vols., Torres Naharro and the Drama of the Renaissance, cited by **ALBORG, Juan Luis** (1981) *Historia de la literatura Española*. Gredos, Madrid. Págs. 669-684. Alborg does not give the exact reference; it probably deals with texts of Gillet, Volume III, p. 395

**MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Marcelino** (1942) *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria* Humanistas, lírica, teatro anterior a Lope. – VII. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Edición preparada por Enrique Sánchez Reyes, p. 276

<sup>307</sup> **FERRARA DE ORDUNA, Lilia** (1973) *Algunas observaciones sobre La Lozana andaluza*. in: Archivum, XXIII, pp. 105-115. Citation on pp. 105 – 107



**Pope Julius II (Raphael, 1511)**

## RAMIREZ DE LUCENA, JUAN

The protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena<sup>308</sup> had several illegitimate children. One of them was Catalina<sup>309</sup>. Another one was the child of his servant Maria Diez<sup>310</sup>, whose name we do not know. In the book *Repetición de amores e arte de axedrez con CL juegos de partido* (Salamanca, h. 1497) the author Lucena stated in his book that he was the son of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, Ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs.

He did not give his full name, but Lucena copied the chess book of Francesch Vicent<sup>311</sup> titled *Llibre dels jochs partits dels schacs en nombre de 100* and printed in Valencia by Lope de Roca Alemany and Pere Trincher. This book hopes to prove that Francesch Vicent is nobody else than Lucena. Fernando de Rojas could also have been a very close relative, thus another child, seeing the excellent relationship he had with Francesch Vicent.

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<sup>308</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (2015) *The Ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena, the Father of the Chess Book Writer Lucena*. Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca

<sup>309</sup> DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO (1993) *El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico*. Nuevos datos sobre su biografía, Sefarad, Volume 53, N°. 2, pp. 249-272. Citation on p. 267. See also: Archivo de la Chancillería de Valladolid, Pleitos Civiles. La Puerta, Fenecidos Caja 352-1

DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO (1993) *El protonotario Lucena en su entorno sociopolítico*. Nuevos datos sobre su biografía, Sefarad, Volume 53, N°. 2, pp. 249-272


<sup>310</sup> MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica*. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, pp. XCVII

MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo (2014) *Juan de Lucena. Diálogo sobre la vida feliz*. Espístola exhortatoria a las letras. Real Academia Española, Madrid

<sup>311</sup> GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio (2005) *The Return of Francesch Vicent. The History of the Birth and Expansion of Modern Chess*. (Foreword Anatoli Karpov). Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport: Fundació Jaume II el Just, Valencia.

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### Family tree of Carlos Ramírez de Lucena

		Simuel Pesquer x unknown wife 5 children?
Juan Ramírez de Lucena (Collector of revenues of the Monarchs <sup>313</sup> ) Married in the year?		x Catalina Ramírez (originating from Medinaceli <sup>312</sup> ) (daughter of Simuel Pesquer, Jew) (Catalina condemned for heresy by the Inquisition)
6 children:		
1.Juan Ramírez de Lucena – 4 illegitimate children: 1.Catalina 2.Child of his servant Maria Diez 3.Fernando de Rojas (Lucena) 4.Francesch Vicent (Lucena)	2. Fernando Ramírez de Lucena	3. Diego Ramírez de Lucena
4. Alonso Ramírez de Lucena	5. Constanza Ramírez de Lucena	6. Carlos Ramírez de Lucena 

<sup>312</sup> AGS, Patronato Real, leg. 28-73, fol. 990r. Cited by **CARRETE PARRONDO, CARLOS** (1991). Juan Ramírez de Lucena, judeoconverso del renacimiento español, in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, Y. Kaplan (editores), Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People presented to Professor Haim Beinart, Jerusalén, (pp. 168 – 179), p. 171.

<sup>313</sup> **AGS**, Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Legajo 6. Varias noticias al respecto. Cited by **DIAGO HERNANDO, MÁXIMO** (1992). Judíos y judeoconversos en Soria en el siglo XV. Volumen 43, N°. 84, (pp. 225-253), p. 239 y 250.



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6. Carlos Ramírez de Lucena (lived in Alcalá de Henares and in Soria. (He was very young in the service of Cardinal Mendoza) Married with Beatrix Martínez 3 children: Carlos de Lucena, el Loco (the foul) Gaspar de Lucena (processed by the Inquisition) Petronila de Lucena (processed by the Inquisition in 1530)	6. Carlos Ramírez de Lucena Married with María de Castillo 5 children: Master Juan del Castillo (processed by the Inquisition ☩ ) Alonso del Castillo Juana del Castillo Maria del Castillo Leonor del Castillo
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Juan Ramírez de Lucena could have played a certain role in the marriage of Isabella I of Castile to Ferdinand II of Aragon. It is clear that Dr. Juan Ramírez de Lucena knew Ferdinand II of Aragon very well and was working in his courts<sup>314</sup>, and on the other hand the father of the protonotary had worked for the court of Juan I of Castile. During this time Juan Ramírez de Lucena could have had an intercourse with a woman whose surname was applied to the born child.

Therefore the birthdate of Francesc Vincent can be stipulated as 1470. In 1503 Juan Ramírez de Lucena could have had at least two sons, as can be determined from his letter addressed to Kind Ferdinand I of Castile:

**Carta de Juan de Lucena, consejero del Consejo real de Aragón, al rey Fernando V, escrita el 26 de diciembre de 1503.**

"Muy alto y poderoso príncipe, rey y señor. Este inquisidor, después que prendió a mi hermano fasta aquí lo ha tenido y tiene encarcelado de cárcel tan estrecha que más no puede ser. No permite que yo ni mis hijos, ni otro

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<sup>314</sup> **MIGUEL BRIONGOS, Jerónimo** (2012) *De Vita Felici o Diálogo sobre la Vida Feliz, de Juan de Lucena: Edición crítica*. Tesis doctoral, Volume I, Departamento de Filología Española. Universidad autónoma de Barcelona, p. L.

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ninguno, pariente ni extraño, le fable aun en presencia suya: ni aun ha querido dar lugar que personalmente viniese ante él a proceder en su causa<sup>315</sup>...

### **Loose translation:**

#### **Letter of Juan de Lucena, adviser to the Royal Council of Aragon, to King Ferdinand V, written on December 26, 1503:**

"Very high and mighty Prince, King and Lord. This inquisitor, after capturing my brother, has had him here and imprisoned him in a prison so narrow that it cannot be narrower. He does not allow me nor my sons, nor any other relative or stranger to speak with him even in his presence: nor has he even wanted to arrange that my brother come before him to proceed in his cause...

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<sup>315</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2012). Biografía de Juan Ramírez de Lucena, embajador de los Reyes Católicos y padre del ajedrecista Lucena. Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca, p. 163.

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### ROJAS, FERNANDO DE

#### Humanistic books in the library of Fernando de Rojas

01	El libro de los Evangelios y Epistolas en romance	26	Yten otro libro de Amadis
02	El Flos Santorunen romance	27	Yten libro de Esplandian
03	Yten el Retablo de la vida de Christo, en coplas en romance	28	Yten la segunda parte de Don Clarian
04	Yten el libro del Viaje de la Tierra Santa	29	Yten las Epistolas de Séneca
05	Yten Marco Aurelio	30	Yten el libro de Palmerin
06	Yten Cayda de príncipes	31	Yten las fabulas de Ysopo
07	Yten los Triunfos de Petrarca	32	Yten el libro de Primaleon
08	Yten Josefo, de belo Judayco	33	Yten el libro de Platir
09	Yten Guaríño (Guarino)	34	Yten el Cortesano
10	Yten la Coronica del Rey don Rodrigo	35	Yten un confisionario
11	Yten la Coronica del Rey don Pedro	36	Yten las Setecientas de Hernan Perez
12	Yten la Coronica Troyana	37	Yten el libro de Axedrez
13	Yten la Conquista de Rodas	38	Yten las Ylustres mugeres
14	Yten los Proverbios de don Iñigo de Mendoça	39	Yten las fabulas de Ovidio en Romance
15	Yten el Ytenelario	40	Yten el libro de Calisto
16	Yten el Cancionero general	41	Yten el libro del Cid
17	Yten Mar de Historias	42	Yten el libro de la Poncella
18	Yten Tratado de miseria de cortesanos	43	Yten el libro de Boecio
19	Yten Vision delectable	44	Yten Carcel de Amor
20	Yten la Propaladia	45	Yten Anfition
21	Yten las Trecientas de Joan de Mena, con su glosa	46	Yten Dialogos Cristianos
22	Yten la Valeriana	47	Yten Yliada de Omero
23	Yten Joan de Mandavilla	48	Yten Historia de Enrique
24	Yten libro de Apiano	49	Yten las Doscientas del Castillo de la Fama
25	Yten libro Amadis		

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### Humanistic books in the library of Leonor Alvarez, widow of Fernando de Rojas

01	Asno de Oro	04	Libro del Infante don Pedro de Portugal
02	Libro de la mala lengua	05	(¿De Hispaniae laudibus?) el sículo
03	Don Tristán	06	Jardín de las nobles mujeres

## SALAMANCA, ANTONIO DE

Antonio de Salamanca or Antonio Martinez de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1479 - Rome, 1562) was a Spaniard who settled in Rome and was active as a bookseller, publisher, and engraver.



**Antonius Salamanca  
orbis et urbis antiquitatum imitator»**

He was born in Salamanca, Spain, in 1479 and seems to have settled in Rome, Italy, around 1510, when he got married to an Italian woman. It has been recorded that he was an active bookseller at the Campo dei Fiori of Rome in 1517 and that his publishing house flourished in 1526.

As an editor he awaited a prominent role in the spreading of Spanish literary works in Italy, a work that began as financial editor with the

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

printing for his own account<sup>316</sup> through the printer Antonio Blado of *Amadis de Gaula* in 1519, followed by the editions of *La Celestina* (1520). Thereafter he printed again through Antonio Blado and other printers the works of *Las sergas del muy virtuoso caballero Esplandián* (1525), *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio emperador y eloquentísimo* from Fray Antonio de Guevara (1531), the works of Boscán, and some works of Garcilaso de la Vega in its Roman edition of 1547, all printed in Castilian.

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<sup>316</sup> GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, José Luis (2007). Antonio de Salamanca y los libros españoles en la Roma del siglo XVI. In: Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna. Volumen 1, pp. 335-35. Citation on p. 348

**SANZIO, RAPHAEL**

**Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, friend of Ludovico Vicentino**

This Vatican copy is particularly interesting because it was made in Rome, commissioned by the outstanding scribe Ludovico degli Arrighi, and entrusted by him to his Spanish colleague Genesius de la Barrera probably between 1521 and 1523.

Sanzio Raphael (1483-1520) was an Italian painter and architect born in Urbino in 1483 and died in Rome in 1520. He was a teacher of a flourishing workshop at the court of Urbino and also worked as a portrait painter in Mantua. He was in charge of many portraits, among them The Marriage of the Virgin for the Albizzini chapel in San Francisco (1504), in Perugia between 1502 and 1504. It was thus at the time when Francesch Vicent prepared his chess manuscript in Perugia?

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**Raphael Sanzio  
Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum**



**SAUERMANN, GEORG - (SAUROMANUS, GEORGIUS)**

King Charles V appointed Georg Sauermann as procurator at the papal curia, and in the autumn of 1520 Sauermann went to Rome where he spent his remaining years living with a Roman woman.

Although a critic of the faults of the traditional church, he published a severe attack on the Lutheran reformers, which was printed by Ludovico de Henricis in 1524. During the confusion of the sack of Rome by the Spaniards he lost everything and was saved by the Germans from death by torture only to perish soon after, together with his son and mistress, of the plague raging in the city.

## SAVOY, LOUISE OF

### Chess manuscript: *Les Éches amoureux*

The chess manuscript *Les Éches amoureux* that was copied and illustrated on behalf of Louise of Savoy (1476-1547) between 1500 and 1509 has a type of letter that is similar to the letter of the chess manuscript of Göttingen according to the chess historian José Antonio Garzón Roger. If Lucena wrote these two manuscripts, then this is the first connection with calligraphy, which Lucena as scribe would do in Italy under the name of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.



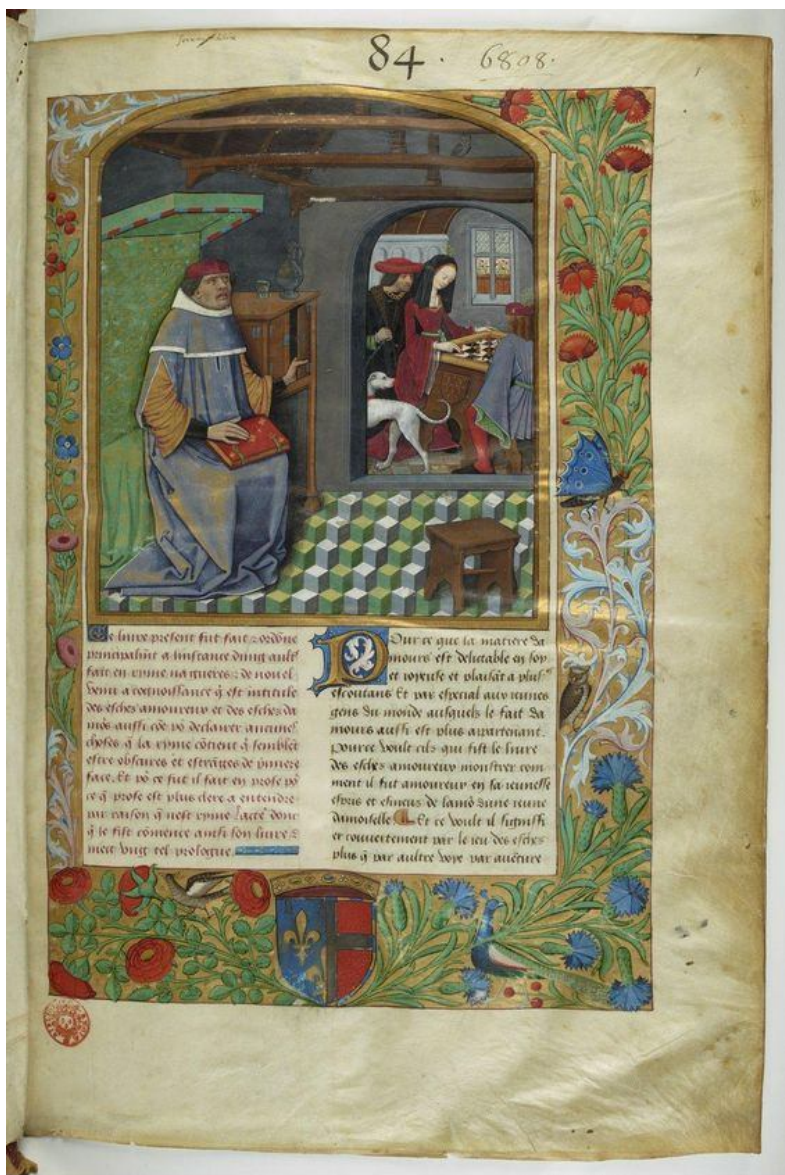
1500-1505 – from the *Book of Chess Lovers* by Louise de Savoy  
Francis I and Margueritte de Navarre playing chess  
*Livre des échecs amoureux* d'Evrard de Conty

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Louise de Savoy was married to Charles of Orleans, Count of Angoulême, on 16 February 1488 in Paris. She began living with him when she was fifteen. She had two children: Marguerite (1492) and Francisco I (1494), who would become the king of France. Unfortunately Louise became widow at the age of only 19. She was then alone in charge of the education of her two children and deftly maneuvered her children into a position that would secure a promising future for each of them. She quickly took the position to move her family to court at the ascension of King Louis XII, her husband's cousin. Louise was deeply interested in the advances of arts and sciences in Renaissance Italy. Therefore she made certain that her children would be educated in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, also helped by her Italian confessor Cristoforo Numai from Forlì. She commissioned books specifically for them and taught Francis Italian and Spanish.

It is interesting to see that in later years Francisco I wanted to see the book *Amadis* that he read during his imprisonment in Spain translated by Nicolas de Herberay. On the other hand his sister Marguerite, married to Henry d'Albret or Henry II of Navarre, had a lawyer and secretary named François Dassy, who was also secretary of the family member Louise de Valentinoise. François Dassy translated the Italian book *Il Peregrino* into French. Dassy was also in charge of translating the Catalan version of *Carcel de amor* into French.

Specialists in handwriting need to find out whether the calligraphy of the *Les Éches amoureux* has to do with Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.



## SILBER, EUCHARIUS

He was a German religious figure and printer from 1480 to 1510 in Rome. His oldest known publication is from 1480, but his name already appeared in a witness list of a Roman notary in 1478. His printing house could have been at the Campo dei Fiori in a building that belonged to Pietro Massimo and in which the printers Konrad Sweynheym (d. 1476) and Arnold Pannartz had already worked. Eucharius Silber belonged to the brotherhood of the Church of Santa Maria dell'Anima in 1485.

The printing house of Eucharius Silber in Rome printed the Italian translation of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* on 29 January 1506<sup>317</sup>. The book was an important one since it was the earliest version of a work in twenty-one acts.

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<sup>317</sup> **HORDOGNEZ, Alfonso** (1506) *Tragicomedia di Calisto e Melibea novamente traducta de spagnola in italiano dioma*, Roma

**SILVANUS, C. (GERMANICUS)**

Silvanus is the pseudonym of the German Georgius Sylvanus, a poet who stayed in contact with the literary circle of Johannes Corycius (Johann Goritz), the papal adviser Gian Matteo Giberti and with the banker Anton Fugger<sup>318</sup>. His panegyric on the new pope Giulio de Medici (Clement VII) was printed by Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi and Lautitio Perugino in 1524.

Ilse Reineke shows the whole panegyric in her study, of which only two issues exist today. One is in the National Library (Res. H. 1069) and the other in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

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<sup>318</sup> **REINEKE, Ilse** (1996) C. Silvani Germanici in Pontificatum Clementis Septimi Pont. Opt. Max. Panegyris Prima. In Leonis Decimi Pont. Max. Statuam Sylva. Text mit Einleitung. In: Huanistica Lovaniensia, Journal of Neo-Latin Studies. Leuven University Press, Vol. XLV, pp. 245-318

## TAGLIENTE, GIOVANNI ANTONIO

In 1524 Giovanni Antonio Tagliente, Arrighi's teacher, published his *Lo presente libro insegna la vera arte*. It is said that Arrighi published *La Operina* only two years earlier to eclipse Tagliente's book.

Before *La Operina* other books were printed on the art of making letters, such as, *el Theorica et Practica de Sigismondo Fanti de 1514*, the first illustrated handbook, or *Divina proportione de Luca Pacioli de 1509*. These books show how to draw a gothic rotund of geometric shape, and they focus more on teaching theory than practice<sup>319</sup>.

“If we compare the contents of Arrighi's *Operina* and *Il Modo* with those of Tagliente's *Lo presente libro*, we can detect, apart from the general similarity, some important difference. Arrighi's books are better presented and bear the stamp of a professional typographer; Arrighi has a higher proportion of white alphabets against a black background, an indication of Celebrino's collaboration, and his selection of models reveals the natural bias of a scribe trained in book hands and ecclesiastical work. He is thinking more of the Church than of the Foreign Office or Stock Exchange. His manuals, in other words, are cast in the mould of Rome rather than Venice<sup>320</sup>.”

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<sup>319</sup> VALLE SOLANO, Diego (2011) *Los manuales de escritura entre los siglos XV y XX*

<sup>320</sup> OSLEY, A.S. (1980) *Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century*, Boston, p. 34

**TOLOMEI, CLAUDIO - (SEE ADRIANO, FRANCI)**

Ludovico Vicentino del Arrighi printed the work *De le lettere nuovamente aggiunte libro di Adriano Franci da Siena intitolato Il Polito* in 1525 for Adriano Franci. However, Adriano Franci wrongly counts as author of the work, because the actual author was Claudio Tolomei, a friend of Adriano Franci's.



Claudio Tolomei was an Italian philologist. His name in Italian is identical to that of Claudius Ptolemaeus, the 2nd-century Greek astronomer. He belonged to the prominent Tolomei family of Siena, and became a bishop attached to the court of Pope Paul III. Tolomei was born in Siena, but was banished in 1526 because of his association with the Medici. He was later recalled and achieved high political office in the city. Tolomei is chiefly known for two dialogues - *Il*



*Polito* (1525) and *Il Cesano* (1555) in which he discusses the phonology of the Tuscan language, the relation between speech and text, and the origins of language. In his poetry he applied classical metrical forms to vernacular verse (*Versi e regole della nuova poesia toscana*, 1539). His letters were published in seven books (1547).

As we know, Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi was in contact with Italian writers such as Machiavelli, Castiglione, Firenzuola, Trissino, Tolomei, and most importantly of all, Bembo. Those scholars defended the dignity of their vernacular both through theoretical argument and through practice of it. The *Grammaris* is presented in the form of a dialogue and in this, too, the work resembles many Italian works, Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* and Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* being but two prominent examples<sup>321</sup>.

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<sup>321</sup> **TOLOMEI, Claudio** (1988) *A Major Influence on Gruffydd Robert*. In: *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 83, N° 1, pp. 56-66

## TORRES NAHARRO, BARTOLOMÉ

When reading Joseph E. Gillet who carefully studied the works of Bartolome Torres Naharro, it appears that Torres Naharro took over certain ideas of:

Autor	Autor's book	Book of Bartolome Torres Naharro
Bembo	Gli Asolani)	Volume III, pages 7-8
Nebrija		Volume III, page 19
Francisco Delicado	Lozano Andaluza	Volume III, page 21
Francisco Delicado	Lozano Andaluza	Volume III, page 27

Working with literature as a scribe or printer can give many new words to future writing, as was the case of Torres Naharro.

The 1526 edition was a very special one and probably for more than one important figure. In that edition there is a handmade image with a wooden frame, where Calisto and Melibea are seen at the top and at the bottom is a student, reading a letter related to Juan de Encina. Gillet has expressed it this way<sup>322</sup>:

This splendid edition, by far the best of all the *Propalladia* editions, is evidently a product of the Cromberger presses in Seville. The half erase notation on the title-page, of course, can hardly have mentioned the date 1520, when the *Propalladia* did not contain the *Aquilana*, but is likely to have read originally MDXXVI. The beautiful flamboyant gothic title-page was used by Juan Cromberger, e.g. for the *Cancionero general* of 1535, and of 1540, and for the *Epístolas* of S. Hieronymo, of 1537. The composite woodcut at the beginning of the *Aquilana* (cf. Plate X) carries on the upper right a small block perhaps first used in the *Celestina* (E), printed on the Cromberger press in 1502. It shows Calisto, attended by this two servants, ascending the ladder to climb the garden-wall; over the crenelations Melibea and her maid are visible. The character on the upper left, while not the same

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<sup>322</sup> GILLET, Joseph E. (1962) *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolome Torres Naharro. Torres Naharro and the Drama of the Renaissance* Transcribed, edited, and completed by Otis H. Green, Philadelphia. Tomo 4, pp. 31-32

as the Calisto figure on the title-page of *Celestina* (E) (and of F, as well), has the same headdress, hair and long crime-lined cloak, but does not carry a hawk. It may well belong to the same set. The lower part of the woodcut is composed of four small figures of the same type, the first on the left representing a young woman in a room, attended by her maid, writing a letter. The second, representing a tree, and a third, showing what may be a student standing up and reading a letter, may be seen also in the flying sheet entitled *Muchas maneras de coplas y villancicos con el juyzio de Juan del encina* (British Museum G. 11022 (3), [1535] (?)). The fourth represents a gallant, with his cap in his left hand, the right on the pommel of this sword. All of the fragments of the crude framework appear in Cromberger editions from 1506 to 1546, the top fragment only, it would seem, in peninsular editions up to 1526. The type is, moreover, the same handsome font used, e.g., in the Cromberger edition of the *Crónica del Gran Capitán* of 1527. There can be little doubt, then, about the origin of the edition, and only the date remains to be ascertained.

*A priori* it is unlikely that an edition of such beauty and importance could have remained completely unknown and unmentioned anywhere. It would have to be identified, therefore, with Seville, 1520, or Seville, 1526, the only folios about which there can be any doubt, and since this edition contains the *Aquilana*, there would be no choice but 1526.

The book of *Propalladia* has in 1520 the comedies *Soldadesca*, *Ymeneia*, *Jacinta*, and *Calamita*. Torres Naharro also wrote *Trofea*, *Jacinta*, *Serafina*, *Aquilana*, and *Calamita*, as well as *Diálogo del Nacimiento*, using Juan del Encina's technique. Regarding *Serafina* and *Aquilana*, the author could have thought of the Italian poet and musician Serafino Aquilano (1466-1500), who was Isabella d'Este Gonzaga's favourite poet.

Gillet<sup>323</sup> refers to a potential connection between Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Serafino Aquilano:

Torres Naharro must have known of the almost notorious Serafino Aquilano de' Ciminelli dall' (1466-1500), famous as an improviser, and may have heard his eclogues recited in Rome. It seems unlikely, but not impossible, that Torres Naharro knew him personally, since Serafino in the last year of this

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<sup>323</sup> GILLET, Joseph E. (1962) *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolome Torres Naharro. Torres Naharro and the Drama of the Renaissance* Transcribed, edited, and completed by Otis H. Green, Philadelphia. Volume 4, p. 419.

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of *La Celestina*

life became a favorite with Cesare Borgia<sup>324</sup>, whom Torres Naharro was to remember with regret as “padre de los soldados” (*Sold*, I, 68 f., note).

Pope Leo must have felt a preference for Torres Naharro because he called the latter “dilectus filius”. Pope Leo X (Giovanni de Medici) was a passionate chess player as one of the best chess historians, Alessandro Sanvito, indicates<sup>325</sup>.

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<sup>324</sup> **GREGOROVIVS, Ferdinand** (1908). *Lucretia Borgia*, New York, p. 126. Citado por **GILLET, Joseph E.** (1962). *Propalladia and other works of Bartolome Torres Naharro*. Torres Naharro and the drama of The renaissance Transcribed, edited and completed by Otis H. Green, Philadelphia. Tomo 4, p. 419

<sup>325</sup> **SANVITO, Alessandro** (2004). La storia la societa' scacchistica milanese e gli scacchi in lombardia. In: Società Scacchistica Milanese, <http://www.scacchisticamilanese.it>

## TRISSINO, GIAN GIORGO

Trissino was born to a patrician family in Vicenza. He was exiled from Venice for political reasons, and traveled to Germany and Lombardy. He eventually came under the protection of Pope Leo X, Pope Clement VII, and Pope Paul III.

He had the advantages of good humanistic training, studying Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas in Milan, and philosophy under Niccolo Leonicensi in Ferrara. His culture recommended him to the humanist Pope Leo X, who in 1515 sent him to Germany as his nuncio; and Pope Clement VII later did him the special favour of employing him as ambassador.

That Arrighi had succeeded as a printer and type designer may be noted from a letter written to Pope Clement VII by Gian Giorgio Trissino, an author whose work was printed by Arrighi: "These new letters have been written here in Rome by Ludovico Vicentino, who, as in calligraphy, has surpassed all other men of our age, so, having recently invented this most beautiful method of doing in print all that was formerly done with the pen, in his beautiful types he has gone beyond all other printers<sup>326</sup>. Trissino praises him for his skills that can make a printed page look almost like a manuscript page.

On the other hand, Vicentino as a man of innovation would work until 1527 following the orthographic reform promoted by Trissino.

Le goût des choses grecques caractéristique de Trissino, qui se laissait deviner dès sa jeunesse dans sa volonté de faire naître la tragédie, éclate dans une épître adressée à Clément VII, parue à Rome en 1524, qui recommande d'ajouter des lettres à l'alphabet de la langue italienne. La réforme

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<sup>326</sup> **LAWSON, Alexander S.** (1990) *Anatomy of a Typeface*, p. 91. **MORISON, Stanley** (1981) *Selected Essays on the History of Letterforms in Manuscript and Print*. Edited by David McKitterick, Volume I. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 107



**Gian Giorgio Trissino**

orthographique que propose Trissino pour éviter les ambiguïtés phonétiques, implique la distinction des semi-voyelles et semi-consonnes jusque-là confondues, qu'elle prescrit de noter *u* et *v*, *i* et *j*. Elle prescrit aussi de distinguer le *z* sonore et le sourd, ce pourquoi elle fait appel à la lettre grecque ζ. Mais l'innovation la plus flagrante, ce sont deux autres lettres grecques introduites dans l'alphabet latin, ε et ω, pour marquer la distinction entre voyelles ouvertes et fermées. Le célèbre calligraphe et typographe vicentin installé à Rome, Lodovico degli Arrighi, qui imprima l'épître, travaillerait jusqu'à sa mort, advenue lors du sac de Rome, suivant la réforme orthographique promue par le Trissino<sup>327</sup>. Ce nouvel alphabet gréco-latin fut inauguré par Arrighi pour imprimer une composition courtisane et politique de notre poète: la *Canzone al Santissimo Clemente VII* (Rome, 1524).

According to Morison Trissino in his *Epistola de le lettere nuovamente aggiunte ne la lingua italiana*, addressed to Clement VII, wrote favourably about Arrighi:

Now these new letters have been made (messe in opera) here in Rome by Lodovico Vicentino, who, as in calligraphy he has surpassed all other men our age, so, having recently invented this most beautiful method of doing in print all that was formerly done with the pen, in his beautiful types he has gone beyond all other printers.

Morison continues that Arrighi produced the finest italic of his day and, at any rate, was unrivalled as printer in Rome<sup>328</sup>.

Clarifying is the text of Morison who informed that the typography of Ludovico degli Arrighi has been passed over in silence. This was so despite the fact that he produced some of the most beautiful books and was a source of inspiration to other better-known printers.

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<sup>327</sup> **BLANCO, Mercedes** (2012). Les Poètes de l'Empereur. La cour de Charles-Quint dans le renouveau littéraire du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (1516-1556). Giangiorgio Trissino, poète de l'empereur. In: E-Spania, revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes., 13 June, 2012.

<sup>328</sup> **MORISON, Stanley** (1981) *Selected Essay on the History of Letterforms in Manuscript and Print*. Edited by David McKitterick, Volume I. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 32.

VALENTINOIS, LOUISE DE (BORGIA, LOUISE DE)

Charlotte of Albret, *suo jure* Dame de Châlus, Duchess of Valentinois (1480 – 11 March 1514), also known as Charlotte d'Albret, was a wealthy French noblewoman of the Albret family. She was the sister of King John III of Navarre and the wife of the notorious Cesare Borgia whom she married in 1499. She was the mother of his only legitimate child, Louise Borgia (1500-1553) for whom she acted as regent following the death of Cesare.

Why do we mention Louise Borgia? We see the link here between Lucretia Borgia's sister-in-law Isabel D'Este, the village of Ferrara, and finally Lucena, who was the writer of *Carcel de amor* and the translator of *Libro de los honestos amores de Peregrino y Ginebra*.

The French translation of *Carcel de amor* was made by François Dassy, an employee of Louise de Valentinois, who was the daughter of Charlotte d'Albret and Cesar Borgia. In 1526 Dassy was secretary of Louise and Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre<sup>329</sup>. Interesting is the observation in the text of the French edition *The Prison d'amour* indicating that the text of the *Prison* was obtained from an inhabitant of Ferrara. The Italian translation of *Carcel de amor* (Venice 1513 or 1515) was made by Lelio Manfredi, Ferrara, possibly as early as around 1513, on the request of Isabella d'Este, Lucretia Borgia's sister-in-law. The Italian book *Il Peregrino* was translated into French as *Le Peregrin et Geneuvre* by François Dassy, a lawyer and secretary to Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre. The first French edition appeared in Paris in 1527. The book was a mandate of Louise de Valentinoise. Was it the same inhabitant of Ferrara who supplied *Il Peregrino* to François Dassy?

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<sup>329</sup> DICKMAN ORTH, Myra (1983) *The Prison of Love: a Medieval Romance in the French Renaissance and Its Illustration*. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. 1983-XLVI, pp. 211-221. Citation on p. 214



## VALLE, BARTOLOMEO DELLA

It was immensely difficult to find literature about Bartolomeo della Valle in 2015. Fortunately this situation has changed with the study of Alessandro Pratesi in 2016.

Bartolomeo Della Valle was a multifaceted figure. He was a member of the municipality, a man of the Pope and a cardinal's brother. Beside that he was the heir of a family empire based on farmhouse products, stock trading, lead, and money. He was skilled in economic and political business and could be considered a bourgeois entrepreneur. On the other hand he perfectly fitted into the dynamics of Rome's Renaissance. Bartolomeo worked for and with the family in synergy and under the aegis Della Valle. It is not easy to bring out the contribution that Bartolomeo had given to the political, economic, administrative, and cultural history of the first quarter of the Cinquecento. For example, art history, in particular, had not yet gotten proper recognition for the principal activities and collector breakthrough of Bartolomeo in the shadow of his brother, the more famous cardinal Andrea<sup>330</sup>.

Pope Leo X di Medici entrusted Bartolomeo Della Valle and Raimondo Capodiferro, responsible for road planning and elegantly named "Maestri di Strade" (The Masters of the roads) the task of straightening up the route between Porta del Popolo and the Vatican.

The Madrid Petrarch of 1508 has Arrighi's chancery cursive script and Bartolomeo della Valle's coat of arms in the footer. What was the type of business collaboration between them?

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<sup>330</sup> **PRATESI, Alessandra** (2016) *Bartolomeo Della Valle: maestro di strade, committente e collezionista di antichità (1468-1526)*. In *Bollettino Telematico dell'Arte*, 7, Maggio, n. 806

**VITALE, GIANO - (IANI VITALIS PANHORMITANI)**

Giano Vitale was a poet born around 1485 and died in Rome in 1560. He studied Latin letters with passion and embraced the ecclesiastical life very young. In 1510 he went to Rome, where he attracted everyone's attention with the beautiful panegyric in honour of Imperia, a beautiful woman who died at the age of 26, admired and courted by all her friends. He composed epigrams, panegyrics, meditations, prayers, and hymns.

Ludovico Vincentino degli Arrighi and Lautizio Perugino printed a work of Vitale, known as *Iani Vitalis Panhormitani Clementis VII Pont. Max. pietas erga remp. christianam. Eiusdem In pacem hymnus* in 1524.

## VICENT, FRANCESCH

In addition to JGAAP there are fortunately other ways to get to know the linguistic style of Francesch Vicent (Lucena). We have used this method in our other book<sup>331</sup>, because the way of writing and grammatical characteristics of Francesch Vicent (Lucena) are different from other authors' and this precisely gives him away. Quite interesting and remarkable is how certain authors are able to describe the nature of the anonymous author of *Thebayda*.

With regard to the authorship of the *Thebayda* Canet notes that the author is not a university college, as Rojas was, but rather a personage who dominates the five subjects of the *studia humanitatis*. He knows perfectly the Latin authors, is able to present a number of biblical quotations, and at the same time part of the path of spiritual renewal, expressed by several authors, including Alfonso de Cartagena and Diego de Valera. On the other hand the author demonstrates to know perfectly the courtly atmosphere and culture<sup>332</sup>.

He was a man, not too young, knowledgeable of the *studia humanitatis*, great rhetorician (with the possibility that he was a professor of rhetoric or philosophic moral), and moved with great ease in the Valencian noble atmosphere. He was knowledgeable of courtly literature, both songbooks and sentimental fiction, but above all he was a moralist, Christian humanist, and possibly belonged to the clergy.

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<sup>331</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (In press) *The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of La Celestina Throughout His Life*.

<sup>332</sup> CANET VALLES, José Luis (2003). *La Comedia Thebayda*. Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, pp. 90-92.

## CHAPTER VI

### The Hypothesis

**Lucena, the son of Juan Ramírez de Lucena, was the chess writer Francesch Vicent and main author of *La Celestina*. In Spain he started using the pseudonym Diego de San Pedro and other names<sup>333</sup>. In Italy he used the pseudonyms Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi, Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado.**

After studying the life of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi, nicknamed *Il Vicentino* we think that he was Francesch Vicent, alias Lucena, the son of the ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena and alias Bartolomé Torres Naharro, as well as Francisco Delicado. We will defend our hypothesis by means of the following points:

#### 1. Printing houses

As we can read in our other book about Lucena's biography, we think that the Aragonese Francesch Vicent was not only a chess writer, but also heavily involved in the printing houses as editor. Together with Juan del Encina and Fernando de Rojas he was involved in the edition of *La Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*. Francesch Vicent (Lucena) was a writer and editor of books, probably with the help of others, in Salamanca, Valencia, Sevilla, Burgos, Zaragoza, Toledo, Barcelona, and probably other places in Spain.

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<sup>333</sup> As suggested by Professor José Luis Canet Vallés, a complete study of the printing houses and books is made.

With respects to the possible authoring of the books, in relationship with Lucena, we are using the program JGAAP. See:

**WESTERVELD, Govert** (In press) *The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of *La Celestina* Throughout His Life*.

Thanks to his experience in the printing houses and his father's connections and influence in the Roman court he could start as calligrapher, bookseller, and editor in Rome. However, he wanted to escape the Inquisition, partly due to the fact that in Valencia the Inquisition was promoted by King Ferdinand and the Vicent families were persecuted in 1500. On the other hand we see that the Lucena family was investigated by the Inquisition. His father's brother Carlos Ramírez de Lucena of Alcalá was in prison, his father was sentenced by the Inquisition in 1490, and his paternal grandmother was also sentenced by the Inquisition. Therefore he wanted to disappear in Italy and protect his anonymity by not using the name of Lucena and Francesch Vicent. In Italy he used the name of a saint - Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

## **2. Chess manuscripts**

The chess manuscript known as MS Göttingen written in Latin around 1505-1515 only bears the name of Lucena and from the texts it clearly appears that it was addressed to a prince: *Dominatio vestra, Serenissime princeps, Magnifice domine*. The letter of the manuscript is similar to the letter of another chess manuscript known as *Les Éches amoureux* that was copied and illustrated on behalf of Luisa de Saboya (1476-1547) between 1500 and 1509. Garzón thinks that the prince is Francisco I of France (1494-1547), which could imply the presence of Lucena in France or a direct connection with France through Rome. If Lucena wrote these two manuscripts, then this is the first connection with calligraphy, which Lucena as scribe would make in Italy under the name of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

## **3. The Colonna family**

The presence of Juan Ramirez de Lucena, father of the chess book writer Lucena, in Rome is reflected in his work *Epistola*

## Researches on the mysterious Aragonese author of La Celestina

*Exhortatoria*<sup>334</sup> and the documents describe him as a member of the entourage of the powerful cardinal Próspero Colonna<sup>335</sup>, cousin of Pope Marín (1417-1431). We see that Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi went to Vittoria Colonna in Naples and that Bartolomé Torres Naharro (Juan del Encina and/or Lucena) also went to Naples around 1516 to Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, and had her father as protector.

### 4. Alonso Ordoñez

The book *Tragicomedia de Calisto and Melibea* was translated into Italian in 1505 by Alonso Ordoñez, who was a member of the papacy of Pope Julius II. We must take into account that Francesch Vicent and Alonso Ordoñez both came from the Aragonese town of Segorbe.

### 5. The Feltria family

The *Tragicomedia* was dedicated to Mrs. Gentile Feltria de Montefeltro. She was the mother of Federico Fregoso, the future cardinal, who had friendship over the years with Baltasare Castiglione and Pietro Bembo. The sister of Gentile Feltria, Agnesina Montefeltro was married to Fabricio Colonna. The name of Gentile Feltria was involved in the preparation of something new - this time it was her son Federico. In this case it deals with a manuscript on a chess poem in Latin. This is proof that this family liked innovation. I am obviously referring to the year 1507 when Vida began with the work of Federico Fregoso at instances of Federico Fregoso. There is no doubt that

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<sup>334</sup> LUCENA, JUAN DE (1892) *Epístola Exhortatoria a las letras (en A. Paz y Meliá (editor): Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIX a XVI* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892), p. 215. Cited by MEDINA BERMUDEZ, ALEJANDRO (1998) *El diálogo De Vita Beata, de Juan de Lucena: un rompecabezas histórico (II)*. Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica, no. 16, pp. 135-170, p. 158 RICO, Francisco (1978, Nebrija frente a los bárbaros, p. 38) also refers to p. 215 de Paz y Meliá quoting: «yo fui a Roma grandevoy»,

<sup>335</sup> CAPPELLI, Guido M. (2002) El humanismo romance de Juan de Lucena, p. 28

## To Professor José Luis Canet Vallés

Federico Fregoso knew Francesch Vicent who was in 1506 in the service of Lucrezia Borgia in Ferrara as chess master.

In 1510 a ten-year privilege was granted to Ludovico di Varthema and his heirs for his *Itinerario* which was printed by Stephano Guillereti in collaboration with Hercole Nani at the expense of Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino. Researchers think that Lodovico de Henricis da Corneto Vicentino<sup>336</sup> was the same person as Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi. The book was printed on 6 December 1510 in Rome and dedicated to Agnesina Feltria, sister of Gentile Feltria.

It should be observed that Fernando de Rojas had this book in his collection. Bernardino López de Carvajal y Sande (146-1523) had a translation made into Latin in 1511. The translation from Latin into Spanish was made by Cristóbal de Arcos in 1523.

### 6. The papal court

The father of Lucena, the protonotary Juan Ramire de Lucena was as scribe at the papal court between 1461 and 1464. We also see that Juan del Encina was at the papal court, that Francesch Vicent made a chess book in 1512 for the papal court, and that Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi also was at the papal court as scribe.

### 7. Chess books

Francesch Vicent printed a chess book in Valencia in 1495, Lucena printed a translation of this book in Salamanca in 1497. Throughout the book of *La Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* printed around 1500 we see a lot of chess terms. Thereafter we see appear a chess manuscript written by Francesch Vicent in Perugia and another one in Cesena. Joannes Chachi prepared a chess manuscript in 1511 that has all types of fingerprints of Francesch Vicent, so that the name of Joannes Chachi is again a pseudonym for Francesch Vicent. Damiano wrote a

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<sup>336</sup> LACH, Donald F. (1994) *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Volume II: A Century of Wonder. Book 2, p. 198.

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chess book in Rome in 1512 that appears to be a pseudonym for Francesch Vicent. This is followed by the editions of Damiano in Rome in 1518 and 1524. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi published a famous chess poem of Marco Girolamo Vida in Rome in 1527. Two of these verses also appear in the work of the *Coryciana* (1524) that was also published by Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi.

### 8. Doubtful origin

The origin of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi, Bartolomé Torres Naharro, and Francisco Delicado is doubtful. All that we know about Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado we know from the books written by them. There are no other testimonies to them having been real people. This fact of doubtful origin strengthens the hypothesis that they are all one person: Francesch Vicent, alias Lucena.

### 9. Pseudonyms

As we know, the father of Lucena (Francesch Vicent), the prothonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena wrote *Vita Beata* and Francesch Vicent, his son, was therefore familiar with the work of *Vita Beati Romualdi* (Peter Damiano) and *Vita Beati Benardini Senensis* (Ludovicus Vicentinus). Those were good enough reasons for Francesc to use these two names in Italy as future pseudonyms.

### 10. Natural language

Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (Francisco Delicado) printed works of Gian Giorgio Trissino, Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, Agnolo Firenzuola, and Claudio Tolomei, authors expressing themselves in their own natural language. For that reason Francisco Delicado, in contact with these humanists, could also adopt the way of expressing himself in his natural language. We find the ideas back in his work of Lozana Andaluza.



### 11. Antonio de Nebrija

The term “Dama” was completely new in the chess game and we can say the same for the new game as Andarraya (with the new powerful dama in 1495). Nebrija mentioned these new terms in his Spanish-Latin dictionary of 1495 in Salamanca and this only could have been possible thanks to the contacts he had with Lucena, who probably worked for Nebrija as translator of Latin and Italian works (in Latin).

Bartolomé Torres Naharro and Francisco Delicado indirectly refer to their lives at the University of Salamanca and their contacts with Anonio de Nebrija. Consequently this was at the same time as Lucena was in Salamanca.

### 12. Fernando de Rojas

There was always a connection between the activities of Lucena (Francesch Vicent) in Italy and Fernando de Rojas in Spain. We observe that Fernando de Rojas had in his collection books such as *Itinerario*, *Guarino Mezquino*, and *Conquista de Rodas*, which all had to do with writers whom Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi was in contact with.

### 13. Ferrara

Francesch Vicent was the chess teacher of Lucrecia Borgia in Ferrara in 1505. Here we see appear in 1505 a poem addressed to Lucrecia Borgia that comes from the book *Arnalte y Lucenda*. This book and *Carcel de amor* were written by Diego de San Pedro, probably a pseudonym for Lucena as explained in our *Biography of Lucena*<sup>337</sup>.

The book *Carcel de amor* became popular in Italy. Lelio de Manfredo Ferrarese translated the Catalanian *Carcer de Amor* (Johan Rosenbach,

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<sup>337</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (In press). The Wanderings of the Mysterious Aragonese Author of *La Celestina* Throughout His Life.

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1493) into Italian on request of Isabel de Gonzaga<sup>338</sup> possibly around 1513<sup>339</sup>. The book was dedicated to Isabel d'Este and published in Venice and Milan in 1515.

The only surviving copy of the edition of the four books of Amadis de Gaula, of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, of which printing was finished in the printing house of Jorge Coci in Zaragoza in late October 1508, was discovered in Ferrara in the late nineteenth century.

The Italian Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) in his *Orlando furioso*, written in 1516 mentions Reinaldo de Montalbán. The work was written in a dialect used in Ferrara. On the other hand Pío Rajna<sup>340</sup> observed the influence of Amadís of Gaula in Ludovico Ariosto in the work *Orlando furioso*. In his work he also influenced another book of the Lucena clan<sup>341</sup>, in this case the book of *Grisel y Mirabella*<sup>342</sup>.

### 14. Matteo di Milano - Ferrara

The illuminator Matteo di Milano worked with the Este family in Ferrara between 1504 and 1512. Consequently Francesch Vicent got to know him there and this could have been a good reason for Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi to work with him later in Rome.

### 15. Ludovico Ariosto - Ferrara

The Italian Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), in his *Orlando furioso* written in 1516, talks about Reinaldo de Montalban. It is possible that

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<sup>338</sup> ALBORG, Juan Luis (1986) *Historia de la literatura española*. Editorial Gredos, S.A, p. 456

<sup>339</sup> DICKMAN ORTH, Myra (1983) *The Prison of Love: a Medieval Romance in the French Renaissance and Its Illustration*. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. 1983-XLVI, págs. 211-221. Citation on p. 212.

<sup>340</sup> RAJNA, Pio (1876) *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso*

<sup>341</sup> Conviene que los filólogos analicen la semejanza entre los textos de *Repetición de amores* (Lucena, 1497) y la obra de *Grisel y Mirabella*.

<sup>342</sup> MATULKA, Barbara (1974) *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*. Slatkin Reprints, Genève, p. 189.

this Italian poet saw the work of *Trapesonda* (1513), thanks to the efforts of Francesch Vicent (Lucena). Pio Rajna observed the influence of the work *Amadis de Gaula* (1508 and the work of *Grisel y Mirabell*.

### **16. Antonio de Blado**

The anonymous author of *La Celestina* (1520), printed by Antonio de Blado, in the style of Francisco Delicado complained about other printers that they did not print well all the words of works. One of the characteristics of the anonymous author is that he was a perfectionist.

### **17. Zoppino, Francisco Delicado, Pietro Aretino, Ludovico**

Pietro Aretino wrote *Ragionamento de Zoppino* which some authors attribute to Francisco Delicado. As we have seen in this book, Ludovico and Zoppino could refer in the *Ragionamento de Zoppino* to the Venetian printer Zoppino and the scribe Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (alias Francisco Delicado). Arrighi knew Aretino in Rome and printed his books and poems.

### **18. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi escaped from Rome**

The mercenary armies who sacked Rome so thoroughly in 1527 entered the city on 6 May and most historians think that Arrighi was one of the many who either perished or were swallowed by that catastrophe. What we know is that the prince of Orange settled in the pope's apartments and, not wanting his horses to be stolen by his own men, stabled the animals in the Sistine Chapel. On June 6 1527 Clemente VII surrendered and agreed to pay a ransom of 400,000 ducati in exchange for his life. It appears from the document that Arrighi was alive on 8 June 1527.

Charles V appointed the prince of Orange as the Captain General of his army in Italy on 31 January 1528. At the time the only military force was the Spanish contingent situated in Castel Sant'Angelo. On 17 February 1528 the Imperial Army left Rome after an occupation of more than eight months. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi spoke

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Spanish, was a wealthy man, and could pay the ransom, if need be, to leave with the Imperial Army on 10 February 1528. Thereafter he used the name of Francisco Delicado and started working in Venice and dedicated his work of *Lozana Andalusia* probably to Andrea Gritti, the Doge of Venice.

### **19. Pietro Bembo and Francesch Vicent**

Francesc Vincent knew Pietro Bembo at the time when he was chess master of Lucrecia Borgia around 1505-1506. Pietro Bembo was in Urbino in 1506 and moved to Rome in 1512. Francesch Vicent must have been aware of Bembo's work as it seems that Francesch Vicent was in Rome in 1506 involved with the printing of *La Celestina* in Italian. Thereafter he was probably in Spain in 1507 involved with the printing of the *Tragicomedia* in Zaragoza. He was back in Rome in 1508 and in charge as calligrapher of the work known today as the Madrid Petrarch of 1508, a manuscript that had been missing since 1511 when the Italian scholar Pietro Bembo borrowed it for summer reading. When Bembo went to Rome in 1512, he was appointed Secretary to Pope Leo X. It is interesting to see that Arrighi, the famous writing master, is reported to have worked in the Papal Chancery under Bembo's supervision.

### **20. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi did not die in 1527**

There exists an anonymous illuminated manuscript created in Venice for Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), prior to his third military campaign against the Habsburgs in Hungary and Austria in 1532. In 1978 Vera Law attributed the elegant penmanship of the manuscript to the Vicentine papal scribe and type designer Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (d. 1527) due to the strong resemblance of its Italianate calligraphy to his.

### **21. Libro de los honestos amores de *Peregrino* y Ginebra**

There was a book *Il Peregrino* that came from Ferrara in 1508 written by Jacopo Caviceo. It was translated into Spanish by Hernán Díaz who

was a resident of the University of Salamanca. This matter is quite suspicious, because the author immediately let us think of the books of *La Celestina*, *Propaladia*, and *Lozana Andalus*, which had to do with the University of Salamanca and Nebrija. Further study showed that Jacopo Caviceo (1443-1511) must have known Lucena (Francesch Vicent) and the work of *La Celestina* in Ferrara when he composed *Il Peregrino* in 1508 and dedicated this work to Lucrezia Borgia. Lucena probably had to do with the Spanish translation of this work and logically speaking the historians could thus never determine the biography of Hernán Díaz, the alleged translator of the Spanish work in 1510, known as *Libro de los honestos amores de Peregrino y Ginebra*. Professor Martin Antonetti confirmed that the calligraphy of Hernán Díaz is similar to Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi, a pseudonym for Francesch Vicent.

## **22. Vita Beata**

As we know, Lucena's father Juan Ramírez de Lucena wrote a book with the title of *Vita Beata*. Francesch Vicent became acquainted with the work of *Vita Beati Romualdi* (Peter Damiano) and *Vita Beati Benardini Senensis* (Ludovicus Vicentinus). This is a good enough reason to use these two names in Italy as future pseudonyms thinking of the work of this father.

## **23. Segorbe**

The translator of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* in Rome was Alfonso Ordóñez, a familiar of the pope Julius II. According to Juan Bautista Agnesius he came from the town of Segorbe, the same place from where came Francesch Vicent.

## **24. Luis de Cordoba**

The book *Primaleón*, printed in 1512 was dedicated to Luis [Fernandez] de Cordova, duca di Sessa. Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi printed a work for Luis [Fernandez] de Cordova, duca di Sessa for Giovan Berardino Fuscano in 1524. Francisco Delicado reveals

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important relations with Italian personages of that time, such as Fernandez de Cordova in Naples.

### **25. Lucio Apuleyo del Asino de oro**

Lucena used an acrostic in his text of the abovementioned book of 1513 in the same way as was the case in the book of Sancho de Muñón and his Tragicomedia Lysandro y Roselia (1542), thus we should not believe that the author was Diego López de Cortegana. On the other hand Lucena knew Agnolo Firenzuola, the author of *L'Asino d'oro* (The Golden Donkey) in the Tuscan language, because he printed his book *Discacciamento de le nuove lettere inutilmente aggiunte ne la lingua toscana* for him.

## Summary

One thing is clear - that the name of Lucena disappeared, then we find it back in France in some chess manuscript, and that is all. The same happened with Francesch Vicent. His name disappeared in Italy and the only thing we know is that he was a chessmaster of Lucrecia Borga in 1505 in Ferrara. After that date we do not know anything about him. It is thus clear that Francesch Vicent (Lucena) must have used another name in Italy to make a living. Therefore I wrote this book with various points in my hypothesis.

I have had more hypotheses in the past. For example:

1. that a great percentage of the Moriscos expelled from the Ricote Valley<sup>343</sup> in 1613 turned back after 5-20 years, a fact that was completely omitted in literature. Today this is generally accepted by the scholars.
2. as stated in my books and articles between 1988 and 1997<sup>344</sup>, that the new powerful dama (queen) in chess and in draughts was an invention of Valencia and was based on Isabella the Catholic Queen. This was confirmed by the great chess expert José Antonio Garzón Roger<sup>345</sup>.

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<sup>343</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert; RABADÁN MARTÍNEZ, Concepción del Pilar, RÍOS MARTÍNEZ, Ángel (2001) *Blanca, "el Ri.cote" de don Quijote Expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España : años, 1613-1654* ISBN 84-923151-1-3

<sup>344</sup> WESTERVELD, Govert (1997) *The Influence of Queen Isabel la Catolica on the New Powerful Dama in the Origin of the Draughts and Modern Chess Game* ISBN 84-605-6372-3 – 329

<sup>345</sup> GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio (2004) Epílogo. In: WESTERVELD, Govert (2004) *La reina Isabel la Catolica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas* ISBN 84-482-3718-8. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger. Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, educació i Esport

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3. that Antonio Torquemada could never have written the first draughts book<sup>346</sup>, but its author was Juan de Timoneda in Valencia<sup>347</sup>. This was also confirmed by José Antonio Garzón Roger<sup>348</sup>.

4. that the Morisco Ricote came from the Ricote Valley<sup>349</sup> and not from Albacete or Esquivias (Toledo). This hypothesis was confirmed by world's best experts of the Morisco issue - Prof. Francisco Márquez Villanueva<sup>350</sup> of the Harvard University and Prof. Bernard Vincent from France. The first one was immediately prepared to make a concept for a future statue of the Morisco Ricote, which he realized in writing and which is exposed in a book<sup>351</sup> deposited at the University of Murcia.

So taking this into account, scholars will hopefully make an effort to read the various points of this hypothesis, because the aim is to reveal the activities of the Aragonese author of *La Celestina* in Italy and awaken scholars' interest in studying the Italian books and printers in greater depth.

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<sup>346</sup> **TORQUEMADA, Antonio de** (1547) *El Ingenio, o juego de marro, de punto, o damas..* Valencia.

<sup>347</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) *El libro de Torquemada es Timoneda. In: La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas* ISBN 84-482-3718-8. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger. Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, educació i Esport, pp. 313-324

<sup>348</sup> **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2010) *Lucas sobre el Ingenio, el pionero libro del juego llamado marro de punta, de Juan Timoneda*. Centro Francisco Tomás y Valiente, UNED Alzira-Valencia. ISBN 978-84-92885-00-8.

<sup>349</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2007) *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Ana Felix y el morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote en "Don Quijote II" del año 1615* ISBN – 10: 84-923151-5-6 – 384

<sup>350</sup> **MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, Francisco** (2010) *Moros, Moriscos y turcos de Cervantes*. Editorial Bellaterra, ISBN 9788472904989

<sup>351</sup> **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2009) *El monumento del Morisco Ricote y Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. Blanca. ISBN: 13:978-84-613-2549-8



## ANNEX I

### The work of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi of Vicenza in Rome<sup>352</sup>

N°	Date	Description book
1	1508	The Madrid Petrarch of 1508 with Arrighi's chancery cursive script and Bartolomeo della Valle's coat of arms in the bottom margin with Arrighi's chancery cursive script.
	1508	Letter of Raphael by Ludovico degli Arrighi
	1510	Varthema, Lodovico: de Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema bolognese nello Egypto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethiopia. La fede, el uiuere, & costumi de tutte le prefate prouincie... (Stampato in Roma: per maestro Stelphano guillireti de Loreno, & maestro Hercule de Nani bolognese: ad instantia de maestro Lodouico de Henricis da Corneto vicentino, 1510. A di. Vi. de Decembro)
	1513	Breve Papst Leo X. Gutenberg-Museum, Mainz. In Cancellaresca auf Pergament geschrieben von Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi. <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Breve_Papst_Leo_X._Gutenberg-Museum-Mainz.png">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Breve_Papst_Leo_X._Gutenberg-Museum-Mainz.png</a>
2	1513	To celebrate the ascent to the throne of S. Peter in 1513, the humanist Giovanni Francesco Philomusa composed a Exultatio for Leonis Tenth's, which was transcribed by the famous scribe Ludovico Arrighi <sup>353</sup> in a code stored in the library "Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze" (Plut. 35.43), decorated by M(atteo di Milano) in the initial paper 1r.
	1514	Letter of Raphael by Ludovico degli Arrighi
	1517	The typographer Ludovico degli Arrighi of Vicenza (1475-1527), who was working at the papal chancery, collaborated with Matteo da Milano on the manuscript Aristotle's Ethics written in Rome in 1517 for Vittoria Colonna (Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS XV D 6)
	1517	Catholic Church. Pope, 1513-1521 (Leo X). <i>Letter, 1517 Mar.</i>

<sup>352</sup> For making the list we used various sources. The main source is: The database of CERL and **ROMEI, Danilo** (2012) Catalogo abbreviato delle edizioni tipografiche di Ludovico degli Arrighi detto il Vicentino (1524-1527).

<sup>353</sup> **BUSSI, Dillon** (1996-1997). Una serie di ritratti miniati per Leone X e un poscritto di novità su M. da M. e sul libro in epoca leonina, in Riv. di storia della miniatura, I-II, pp. 17-33. Citation on p. 29.

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		27, Rome, to Ottaviano Fregoso, Doge of Genoa. [Genoa?] 1 leaf. (29 lines). Manuscript written by Ludovico degli Arrighi at Rome in a chancery script on parchment, signed by Jacopo Sadoletto as Papal Secretary. RARE RES D221 .C3L4 1517
	<b>1519</b>	Ludovico degli Arrighi was the scribe responsible for at least one other manuscript dedicated to Cardinal Giulio, a 1519 Latin translation of Lucian's <i>Dialoghi Maritimi</i> preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. This manuscript, written in Arrighi's familiar cursive hand, was illuminated in the Florentine style of Attavante degli Attivanti.
	<b>1520</b>	Book of hours Milano, Matteo da (artist) Arrighi, Ludovico degli (scribe)
	<b>1520</b>	The typographer Ludovico degli Arrighi of Vicenza (1475-1527), who was working at the papal chancery, collaborated with Matteo da Milano on the manuscript Missal of Cardinal Giulio dei Medici. (Berlin, signed and dated 1520). ( <i>Il Messale</i> (Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, 78.D.17).
	<b>1520</b>	Historiae Sui Temporis: Rome and Florence Manuscript written by Paolo Giovio, Ludovico degli Arrighi
	<b>1521 15 de mayo</b>	Letter concerning the affairs of the archdiocese of Florence. Guilio de' Medici later reigned as Pope Clement VII. The letter was written by the writing master Ludovico degli Arrighi and is an excellent example of his freestyle hand. Guilio de Medici; Clement, Pope; Ludovico degli Arrighi
	<b>1522</b>	Ludovico degli Arrighi, Vicentino, fl. 1522. La operina di Ludouico Vicentino, da imparare di scriuere littera cancellarescha con molte altre noue littere agiunte, et una bellissima ragione di abbachao... vgo. scr. Granted a papal privilegio. 1522 (Stampata in Roma: per inuentione di Ludouico Vicentino scrittore)
	<b>1523</b>	Ludovico degli Arrighi, Vicentino, fl. 1522. Il modo de temperare le penne con le uarie sorti de littere ordinato per Ludouico Vicentino. Roma, 1523. [31] p. 21 cm. Granted a papal privilegio.
	<b>1523</b>	Manuscript of The Prince by Ludovico degli Arrighi entrusted to his Spanish colleague Genesisius de la Barrera
<b>1</b>	<b>1524, post 12 June</b>	[CLEMENS PP. VII] <i>Bulla Clementis Papae Septimi contra homicidas...</i> ( <i>Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominicae millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quarto pridie idus Iunii</i> [12 giugno] <i>pontificatus nostri anno primo</i> [1524])

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		[Impressum Romae apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum]
2	[ <i>ante July 1524</i> ]	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Canzone A</i> ] <i>Canzone del Trissino al santissimo Clemente Settimo P. M.</i> [s.n.t.]
3	1524, July	<i>Coryciana</i> . [a cura di Blosio Palladio (Biagio Pallai)] [comprende: <i>Francisci Arsilli Senogallien. De poetis urbanis ad Paulum Iouium libellus</i> ] [Impressum Romae apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum mense Iulio MDXXIII]
4	1524, July	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Sophonisba A</i> ] <i>La Sophonisba del Trissino</i> [Stampata ( <i>sic</i> ) in Roma per Lodovico Vicentino scrittore e Lautitio Perugino intagliatore nel MDXXIII del mese di Luglio con prohibitione che nessuno possa stampare questa opera per anni diece come appare nel brieve concesso al prefato Lodovico dal Santissimo nostro Signore Papa Clemente VII per tutte opere nuove che 'l stampa abcdefghiklmn Tutti sono duerni]
5	1524 Sept	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Sophonisba B</i> ] <i>La Sophonisba del Trissino</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodovico de gli Arrighi Vicentino scrittore nel MDXXIII di Settembre. Revista con diligentia e corretta. Con prohibitione che nessuno possa stampare questa opera per anni diece come appare nel brieve concesso al prefato Lodovico dal Santiss. N. Signore Papa Clemente VII. abcdefghiklmn Tutti sono duerni]
6	1524 Oct	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO] <i>Oratione del Trissino al Serenissimo Principe di Venetia</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodovico de gli Arrighi Vicentino e Lautitio nel MDXXIII di ottobre con la prohibitione e gratia di N. S. come ne l'altre]
7	1524 Oct	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO] <i>I ritratti del Trissino</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodovico de gli Arrighi Vicentino e Lautitio Perugino nel MDXXIII di ottobre con la prohibitione e gratia di N. S. come ne l'altre]
8	1524 Oct	[GIOVAN BERARDINO FUSCANO, <i>Deploratoria</i> ] <i>Al Illustriss. S. Don Loisi di Cordova duca di Sessa Ioan Berardino Fuscano da Monte Fuscolo D. S.</i> [Stampato in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perusino nel MDCCIII di ottobre]
9	1524 Oct	[GIOVAN BERARDINO FUSCANO, <i>Testura</i> ] <i>Al disertiss. cultor di Muse M. Iano Vitale Panhormitano Ioan Berardino Fuscano S.</i> [Sta[ ]a[ ] in Roma per Lodouico de gli Arrighi Vicentino et Lautitio Perugino nel MDXXIII di ottobre]

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10	1524 Oct- Nov	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Epistola A</i> ] <i>epistola del Trissino de le lettere nuovamente aggiunte ne la lingua italiana</i> [s.n.t.]
11	1524 post 2 dicembre	*[CLEMENS PP. VII] [motu proprio] <i>Monitorium contra clericos et in sacris ordinibus et sacerdotio constitutos super habitu et tonsura et aliis.</i> ( <i>Datum Romae... die II Decembris MDXXIII</i> ) [s.n.t.]
12	1524 15 Dic	*[PIETRO ARETINO] <i>Esortatione de la pace tra l'Imperadore e il Re di Francia.</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perugino nel MDXXIII adi XV dicembre con priuilegio et gratia che da altri non si possa istampare questa opera ne altra istampata in questa littera insino al decennio]
13	1524 21 Dic	*[C. SILVANUS Germanicus] <i>C. Siluani Germanici in pontificatum Clementis Septimi Pont. Opt. Max. panegyris prima. Eiusdem in statuam Leonis Decimi Pont. Max. sylua.</i> [Romae, in aedibus Ludouici Vicentini et Lautitii Perusini, 1524 XII kl. jan. (21 dicembre 1524)]
14	1524 Dic	*[PIETRO ARETINO] <i>Laude di Clemente VII Max. Opt. P. Compositione del diuino poeta Messer Pietro Aretino.</i> [Stampata in Roma per Ludouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perugino nel MDXXIII di Dicembre con Gratia et Priuilegio che de altri non si possa istampare]
15	1524 Dic	[AGNOLO FIRENZUOLA] <i>Discacciamento de le nuove lettere inutilmente aggiunte ne la lingua toscana.</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perugino nel MDXXIII di Dicembre con priuilegio et gratia che da altri non si possa istampare questa opera ne altra istampata in questa littera insino al decennio]
16	1524	[BATTISTA CASALI] <i>Baptistae Casalii in legem agrariam pro communi utilitate, et ecclesiastica libertate tuenda, ad Clementem VII. pont. max.</i> <i>oratio</i> [Impressum Romae apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum MDXXIII]
17	1524	*[GEORGIUS SAUROMANUS (Georg Sauer mann)] <i>G. Sauromanus Proc. Caes. Ad principes christianos de religione ac communi concordia</i> (Romae, an. chris. sal. MDXXIII) [s.n.t.]
18	1524	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Canzone B</i> ] <i>Canzone del Trissino al santissimo Clemente Settimo P. M.</i> [s.n.t.]

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19	1524	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Epistola a Giovan Matteo Giberti</i> ] <i>Al Reveren. Mons. Giovan Mattheo Giberti vescovo di Verona e datario del S. P. Giovan Giorgio Trissino</i>
20	1524	*[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO] <i>Epistola del Trissino de la vita che dee tenere una donna vedova</i> . [Stampata in Roma per Lodovico Vicentino e Lautitio, 1524]
21	1524	[GIOVAN GIORGIO TRISSINO, <i>Epistola B</i> ] <i>epistola del Trissino de le lettere nuovamente aggiunte ne la lingua italiana</i> [s.n.t.]
22	1524	*[GIANO VITALE] <i>Iani Vitalis Panhormitani Clementis VII Pont. Max. pietas erga remp. christianam. Eiusdem In pacem hymnus</i> . [Roma, Ludovico degli Arrighi e Lautizio Perugino, 1524]
23	1524/ 1525	[PIETRO ARETINO] <i>Canzone in laude del Datario. Compositione del preclaro poeta Messer Pietro Aretino</i> . [Stampata in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perugino con priuilegio et gratia che da altri non si possa istampare questa opera ne altra istampata in questa nuoua littera insino al decennio] [s.d. ma 1524/1525]
24	1525 14 Jan	*[LIBANIUS] <i>Aliquot declamatiunculae et orationes è Greco in Latinum versae quarum tituli infrascripti. Libanii Libellus de malis paupertatis, Angelo Barbato interprete... Libanij Iustitiae laudatio facta latina è proposito themate a magnifico Hippolyto Medice... Libanij Libellus de malis diuitiarum Angelo Barbato interprete... Plutarchi De exilio libellus Angelo Barbato interprete... Libanij Fabellae tres è proposito themate in latinum versae a magnifico Hippolyto Medice...</i> [Romae, apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Peruginum, 1525 die XIII Ianuarij]
25	1525 1 Febr	[ZACCARIA FERRERI] <i>Zachariae Ferreri Vicent. pont. gardien. Hymni novi ecclesiastici iuxta veram metri et latinitatis normam...</i> [Registrum ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRS Omnes sunt quaterni praeter ABCS qui sunt duerni. Impressum hoc diuinum opus Romae in aedibus Ludouici Vicentini et Lautitii Perusini non sine priuilegio kal. Febru. MDXXV]
26	1525 Post 28 Febr	*[GIOVANNI MELEZIO] <i>Ioannis Meletii Italo Galli Rei. Christianae et libertatis Italicae amatoris tragica Elegia ad Italiam et Galliam infelices</i> (Romae die XXVIII Feb. MDXXV) [s.n.t.]
27	1525 29	*[PIETRO CORSI] <i>Petri Cursii ciuis Ro. Poema de Ciuitate Castellana Faliscorum non Veientium oppido</i> . [Romae, apud

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	<b>March</b>	Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum, 1525 die 29 Martij]
<b>28</b>	<b>1525 Post 1 April</b>	[GIROLAMO BORGIA] <i>Ad Carolum Caesarem Opt. Max. Monarchia.</i> (Romae, Kal. Aprilis MDXXV) [s.n.t.]
<b>29</b>	<b>1525 12 April</b>	*[CRISTOFORO MARCELLO] <i>Chris. Mar. ar. Corcy. In psalmum Usque quo Domine obliuisceris mei.</i> [Rome, apud Ludouicum Vicentinum et Lautitium Perusinum, anno 1525 die XII Aprilis]
<b>30</b>	<b>1525</b>	[ADRIANO FRANCI (Claudio Tolomei?)] <i>De le lettere nuovamente aggiunte libro di Adriano Franci da Siena intitolato Il Polito.</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino et Lautitio Perugino con priuilegio et gratia che da altri non si possa istampare questa opera ne altra istampata in questa nuoua littera insino al decennio] [s.d. ma 1525]
<b>31</b>	<b>1526</b>	[FRANCESCO CATTANI da Diacceto] <i>Panegirico di Francesco da Diacceto</i> [Stampata in Roma per Ludouico Vicentino con gratia e priuilegio come ne laltre nel anno MDXXVI]
<b>32</b>	<b>1526</b>	*[GIOVANNI MARIA CIOCCHI DEL MONTE (poi papa Giulio III)] <i>Ioannis Mariae archiepiscopi Sipontini Ad principes christianos oratio de pace.</i> [Impressum Romae, per Ludouicum Vicentinum, anno a partu Virginis 1526]
<b>33</b>	<b>1526</b>	[PANDOLFO COLLENUCCIO] <i>Pandulphi Collenucii Pisauensis Apologi IIII</i> [Impressum Romae per Ludouicum Henricum Vicentinum anno christianae salutis MDXXVI Registrum ABCDEFGHIKLMNO Omnes sunt bini]
<b>34</b>	<b>1526</b>	[PANDOLFO COLLENUCCIO] <i>Specchio di Esopo</i> [Stampata in Roma per Lodouico Vicentino con gratia e priuilegio come ne laltre nel anno MDXXVI]
<b>35</b>	<b>1526</b>	[FILIPPO BELLUCCI] <i>Itinerarium Philippi Bellucii</i> [Romae, per Ludouicum Henricum Vicentinum impressum nec sine priuilegio ut in caeteris]
<b>36</b>	<b>1526 Nov/ Dic</b>	*[CLEMENS PP. VII] <i>Perpetuatio officiorum etiam Romanae Curiae.</i> [Romae, in aedibus Ludouici Vicentini, (1526?)]
	<b>1526?</b>	The pen of Ludovico Vicentino was responsible for what is quite probably the most perfect of the manuscript from a formal point of view: MS Harley 5423, now held in the British Library. Arrighi dedicated the work to Aurelia Petrucci. Probably the work was made between the years 1524 and 1527. The manuscript does not have any title, but the Dialoghi d'amore

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		was a work of Leone Ebreo.
37	1527 April	*[MARCO FABIO CALVO] <i>Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum</i> . [Romae, Ludovicus Vicentinus impressit, aprile 1527]
38	1527 May	[MARCO GIROLAMO VIDA] <i>Marci Hieronymi Vidae Cremonensis de arte poetica lib. III. Eiusdem de bombyce lib. II. Eiusdem de ludo scacchorum lib. I. Eiusdem Hymni. Eiusdem Bucolica</i> . [Romae, apud Ludouicum Vicentinum, 1527 mense Maio]
39	1527 Post 8 June	[CLEMENS PP. VII] [breve] <i>Dilectis filiis nobili viro Philiberto de Chialon Principi Orangiae et aliis capitaneis exercitus Caes. Maiestatis Hispanicae Alamanicae Italicae et cuius suis alterius nationis tam equitum quam peditum. Clemens PP. VII. Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.</i> <i>Cum nuper exercitus... (Datum Romae in Castro Sancti Angeli sub annulo Piscatoris die VIII Iunii MDXVII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.)</i> (sottoscrizione: <i>Euangelista</i> [Capodiferro]) [s.n.t.]
	1527	The prince of Machiavelli by Ludovico degli Arrighi
	1529	Dialogo del Trissino intitolato il castellano : nel quale si tratta de la lingua italiana Author / Editor: Trissino, Giovanni Giorgio Publishing place: Vincenza Publishing house: Ianicolo Types of: Ludovico Vicentino
	1532	anonymous illuminated manuscript created in Venice for Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), prior to his third military campaign against the Habsburgs in Hungary and Austria in 1532.
	1539	Arrighi, Ludovico La operina da imparare di scriuere littera concellaresha in Roma: per Valerio D'Orico et Luigi fratelli, 1539. Monografia – Testo a stampa
	1540	Arrighi, Ludovico La operina da imparare di scriuere littera concellaresha in Roma: per Valerio Dorico & Luigi fratelli. Alle spese de Antonio de Salamanca, 1540 Monografia – Testo a stampa

## ANNEX II

### The work of Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi of Vicenza in Venice

N°	Date	Description book
	<b>1523</b>	Il modo de temperare le Penne con le varie sorti de littere ordinato per Ludouico Vicentino, in Roma nel año 1523. Stampata in Venetia per Ludovico Vicentino Scrittore et Eustacio Celebrino (da Udine): Intagliatore
	<b>1523</b>	Il modo di temperare le penne. Venetia. Nicola d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1523
	<b>1525 29 Febr</b>	La operina di Ludouico Vicentino, da imparare di scriuere littera cancellerescha con molte altre noue littere aggiunte, et una bellissima ragione di abbacho molto necessaria chi ipara a scriuere, e fare conto vgo [!] scr (In Vinetia, 1525 a XIII di febraro)
	<b>1532</b>	La Operina Eustachio Celebrino
	<b>1532</b>	Bergamo - BELLAFINI, Francesco. De origine et temporibus urbis Bergomi liber. (Con:) MICHIEL, M. Ant. Agri et urbis Bergomatis descriptio. (In fine:) Venetiis, per Io. Antonium et fratres de Sabio, 1532, 2 opere in un vol. in-4, ff. (44, segn. a-e8, f4), leg. coeva p. perg molle. Titolo in maiuscola, il testo nell'elegantissimo corsivo disegnato da Ludovico degli Arrighi <sup>354</sup> . Dedicata dell'a. a Marco Mauroceno, pretore di Bergamo. Prima ed unica edizione latina dell'unica opera a stampa del Bellafini, la quale contiene anche lo scritto di Marcantonio Michiel da lui edito. E' una narrazione stringata, immune dall'enfasi umanistica, pregevole per doti di stile, e - nell'ultima parte, che riflette vicende contemporanee all'autore fino al 1516 - per scrupolo di esattezza e di obiettività; le pagine sulle "origini" fanno invece credito a racconti fantastici. Il libretto ebbe notevole successo: fu tradotto in volgare, con appendice, da Giovanni Antonio Licino e inserito dal Graevius nel " <i>Thes. Antiq. et Hist. Italiae</i> ", 1723. Bellafini (nato a Bergamo nella seconda metà del XV sec. ed ivi morto nel 1543) ricoprì varie cariche pubbliche nella sua città ed importanti incarichi diplomatici.

<sup>354</sup> <http://www.preliber.com/files/Catalogo%20101%20web.pdf>



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		Delizioso e prezioso libretto, in perfetto stato di conservazione.LOZZI 316: « <i>Assai raro</i> ». PLATNER 61:« <i>Rarissimi</i> ». STC. 78. ADAMS B-481.
	<b>1533</b>	<b>CALLIGRAPHY] ARRIGHI, Ludovico degli.</b> Regola da imparare scrivere varii caratteri de littere con li suoi compassi et misure: et il modo di temperare le penne secondo la sorte de littere che uorrai scriuere, ordinato per Ludouico Vicentino con una ricetta da far inchiostro fino. Venice. Stampato in Venetia: per Nicolò d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1533.

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